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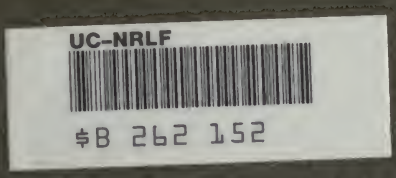

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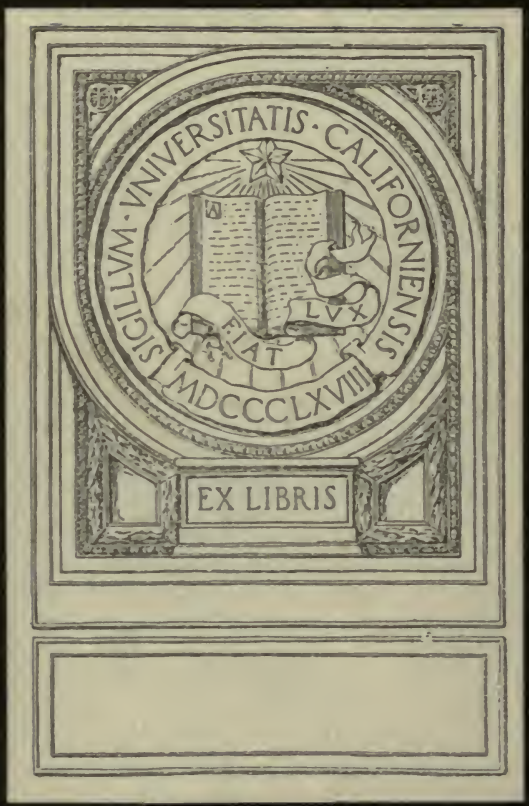
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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

Central European Universities after the War

BY

C. P. BLACKER

Of Balliol College, Oxford

GLOUCESTER
PRINTED AT THE CRYPT HOUSE PRESS, BELL LANE
1922

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PREFATORY REMARK

About the middle of the Summer Term of 1922, it was suggested, at a meeting organised by the Oxford Secretary of the Universities Committee of the Imperial War Relief Fund, that a party should be formed, consisting of members of Oxford University, to make a tour of the universities of five central European countries. The objects of the tour were two. The immediate purpose was that the party should obtain an insight into the conditions prevailing among students of their own age in those countries which had been stricken by the war, so that they might conduct propaganda on their behalf in Oxford, and if possible in a wider circle, after their return. The more remote, but perhaps more important aim, was to establish a precedent in English universities by which a definite attempt should be made to promote understanding between the rising generations of European countries. It was first proposed that the party should consist of about 25 persons, and should include a certain number of women students, so as to be as representative as possible of the University both in respect of colleges and of intellectual activities. The number of the party was finally reduced to 16 persons, 12 men and 4 women, and the tour was made in the month of September. The universities visited were those of Vienna, Budapest, Prague, Cracow, Warsaw and Berlin, in that order.

In the following pages I have described the condition of students in these places in relation to the economic situation of the country as a whole. It is only in this way that the plight of the general population, of which the student class forms an integral and vital part, can be properly understood. Where possible, I have also drawn comparisons between the system of the Continental universities, and that prevailing at Oxford.

I hope in this way that the conditions we found may be made clearer to the English undergraduate. I have also indulged in reminiscence where I felt this might be of interest to anyone travelling in the near future in the countries we passed through.

I am indebted to *The Economic Review* for some of the figures used in the following pages, and also to Mr. Isaiah Bowman, from whose *Political Geography* I have, in parts, quoted.

October, 1922. C. P. B.

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AUSTRIA

The visitor to Vienna before the war found it a city of gaiety, colour and music. The air is keen and stimulating. The streets used to display a striking array of resplendent uniforms and of brilliant, artistically arranged shop windows, exhibiting every kind of luxury. In the fashionable parts of the Ring and the Kärntner strasse, at the fashionable hour, there glided past a procession of sumptuous, slow-moving cars, of which those containing royalty sounded, instead of a horn or siren, a cadence of musical notes. Transport was made easy by an efficient system of decoratively painted tramways. Most of the leading Cafés and Restaurants contained small orchestras, and in the parks and gardens, Bands played. The cost of living compared with that in other capitals was conspicuously low. The Viennese, a smiling and hospitable people, welcomed the foreigner to their city, assuring him that here, at a comparatively trivial expense, he could enjoy to their fullest all the manifold pleasures of life. They could show him an unrivalled cuisine and provide him with an assortment of wines that would satisfy the most fastidious palate. Their women, in looks and dress, formed in point of handsomeness and taste, an effective complement to the brilliancy of the officers. Vienna was one of the musical centres of Europe. It possessed a unique collection of treasures of painting and architecture. It was celebrated for its picture galleries, museums and fine buildings, for its gardens, parks, and open spaces. But before everything came the charm of the people. They have beautiful manners. They are cultured, artistic and interested in other countries. They had a distinctive philosophy of light-hearted equanimity, eschewing worries and avoiding racial hatreds. They passed through life effortlessly, enjoying all its beauties and bounties, taking things as they came, and not caring about the morrow. Such was Vienna before the war.

What is it now? To the superficial observer it displays no very striking contrast to other European capitals. The uniforms, the motors and the music have gone, but the shop windows are still full of luxuries. The theatres are still thronged, and the opera gives nightly performances. The expensive Cafés and Restaurants are still filled with people. But they are not the Viennese. These crowds consist for the most part of Italians,

English and Americans, with a few Jews, Germans and Austrian war profiteers. The prices charged in such localities are far above the heads of the people who frequented them before the war. The true Viennese are not now seen much in the fashionable streets, or in the public places of recreation and amusement. Numbers of men, thin and gaunt, with beards and sallow complexions, walking as with purposeful intent, hurry past one in the streets with their overcoats buttoned up round their necks to conceal their shirts and ties. The pavements and street floors are in bad repair and accumulate, in wet weather, large pools of water. The traffic consists largely of waggons and carts drawn by thin, starved-looking horses, and of ramshackle taxis that rattle and clatter over the cobbles, and accelerate with painful slowness. The tramway system works efficiently, and is much used, but the people who use it are not the poorest in the town. There are not many smartly dressed women ; the few one sees are nearly all Italians. There are many beggars. Men who have been mutilated in the war loiter at the street corners, wearing the remnants of their field grey uniforms. Into the Cafés and Restaurants there flows an almost incessant stream of women with pinched faces, selling bundles of flowers, and taking for them anything that can be spared ; of men with sunken, unshaven cheeks, exhibiting post cards or boot laces ; of children with bare legs, carrying sweets in baskets, and quite often young men with a shy, half-defiant manner, who seemed fearful of obtruding themselves. The latter are students, or people of the salaried middle classes, who have been driven by hunger to selling small goods and wares in the streets. In many ways these are the most pitiable figures that show themselves to the casual visitor.

Our party was conducted round the town by two Austrian students. Among other places we visited the technical college in the Schwarzenbergplatz, outside of which a black flag was hanging. One of these students, asked by a member of our party what significance this had, replied that a professor of statics (considered one of the ablest in Vienna, whom he knew personally and under whom he had worked), had found his salary impossible to live upon in face of the rise in prices within the last three weeks, and had thrown himself, three days before, out of a third story window. We were assured that episodes of this kind were of frequent occurrence. The massive beautifully proportioned buildings round the Ring, so characteristic of Vienna, were assuming a shabby, unkempt look. Few of them are now used, except to a small degree of their capacity. The less important streets tended to be dirty and ill-lit at night. The parks and gardens were for the most part inadequately looked after. The flower beds were generally well-kept, but most of the seats and benches

were in bad repair. There seemed to brood over Vienna, especially at night, a premonition of destruction that characterised towns within the shelled zone during the war, as if above some dark Fate were hovering at all times on broad expanded wings, ready at any moment to descend and strike. There hung over it a dire sense of silent, ever-present tragedy and of impending doom.

We visited, in the course of our stay, the Algemeines Krankenhaus, one of the most celebrated hospitals of the world. On a wall of the chief lecture room, in which operations were performed daily in front of students, were written in large black letters two lines that were appropriate, not only to that place, but to the whole city :—

> Praesente aegroto taceant colloquia
> Effugiat risus dum omnia dominat Morbus.

The change above described was brought about by the war and the Peace Treaty in the following way : The Danube basin is an economic unity containing all the fundamental necessities of life, distributed in its different parts. Coal, sugar and most of the industries are in Czecho-Slovakia. Iron is found in Czecho-Slovakia and in Hungary ; timber in Slovakia and Transylvania ; sheep, cattle, corn and maize in Jugo-Slavia. This basin was practically self-supporting, as certain parts of it remain now, except for tropical products such as rubber, cotton, rice, etc. Along the Danube, in prehistoric times, came wave after wave of people of different races, bent on the invasion of Europe. The basin of this river being the main thoroughfare into the Continent, elements of these races detached themselves on the way and became separated from each other by other races. In this manner were formed the numerous racial contrasts that characterise Central Europe, the most salient of which, in the parts we visited, has been the separation of two areas containing people of Slavic race, namely Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia in the north and south, by a broad strip of land containing Germans, Magyars and Roumanians. Nationalist feeling has always been, and still is, intensely strong among these races, and has been aided by concomitant differences of language and religion. In spite of these three forces making for disruption and disintegration, the German influence had succeeded, before the war, in complementing the natural economic unity of the basin with the loose and unstable political unity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the disruption and chaos which now prevails in Central Europe is the result of the policy—clearly followed by the allied powers in the Versailles

Treaty—of smashing German influence wherever it presented itself, regardless of other considerations, and to what extent it is attributable to the mistrust and hatred with which the Austrian *régime* inspired all the races that came under its dominion. It was to the interest of Austria that these races should not develop themselves to a point at which they could throw off her rule and oppose her openly, and it is certain that Vienna which, except for its geographical position, is an artificial capital, situated as it is in a region poor in agricultural resources, mineral wealth and industries, was systematically developed at the expense of the natural centres of other regions in the Empire. The immense overcrowding which now prevails at Prague and at Belgrade, is largely the result of these towns undertaking business operations and administration within their own sphere which before the war were effected at Vienna.

At the drawing up of the Peace Treaties, no representatives of Austria or Hungary were allowed to give a voice. The frontiers were redrawn according to a principle which, as elsewhere in Europe, placed ethnographical considerations before economic, and this on the basis of advice given exclusively by the Czecho-Slovaks, Jugo-Slavs and Roumanians. They were redrawn in such a manner as to strip Austria of every one of her resources, and Hungary of a large percentage of hers. As soon as they were established, the newly-created powers began to erect prohibitive frontier tariffs against each other, so that the two countries, namely Austria and Hungary, that were beaten in the war, and which, in addition to being stripped of almost all they had got, were also expected to pay large indemnities, soon found themselves in an impossible situation. It is probable that the disruptive forces let loose by the war would have taken this course whatever policy France, Italy and ourselves might have followed, though this is a view adopted reluctantly by Austrians, who naturally prefer to attribute their plight to someone else's fault than their own.

Vienna contains a little under two million inhabitants, and is now the capital of a very small country, the area of which is about 30,000 sq. miles, and which contains a population of some six millions. The surrounding country is for the most part mountainous and of a nature that will admit of the support of sheep and goats, but not of the production of crops. It contains few mineral resources. Vienna can, therefore, be compared to a colossal brain without any body or limbs to support it. It is a large nerve centre from which the afferent and efferent trunks have been severed, and without any arterial supply to nourish it. Its natural fate will probably now be to shrink in size, to the accompaniment, of course, of indescribable sufferings of its inhabitants,

to a town of some 900,000 inhabitants ; that is to say, about the size of Budapest.

The economic condition of Austria is not difficult to understand. Her industries consist for the most part in the production of *semi-manufactures, plant and heavy goods.* Her metallurgical and engineering works employ some 130,000 workers, and consist of 150 steel foundries and some 250 engineering and similar works. Austrian machinery has a world-wide reputation not only on account of its cheapness, but also in virtue of its quality, solid workmanship, and prompt delivery. There are motor and cycle works turning out annually 20,000 cars and 30,000 cycles, which generally win prizes at international shows. There are further locomotive and rolling stock factories, a well-known scythe industry, and 35 electrical works producing electric plant and appliances of all descriptions. There are 70 large chemical works employing 15,000 workmen concerned mainly in the manufacture of soaps and rubber, and in the refinement of raw oil. There are also important glass, china and pottery works, furniture and cabinet making factories, as well as cotton spinning and cloth mills. Viennese leather goods are celebrated all the world over. It is to be noted that for the operation of these industries, with the exception of the furniture industry, Austria is almost entirely dependent on the importation of raw materials from abroad. It is also extremely important to note that Austria is incapable of producing more than 33 per cent. of her food requirements or more than 5 per cent. of her coal requirements. Her small coal mines are situated in Styria and produce only brown coal, which is of inferior quality and requires, for its consumption, special furnaces.

With regard to their coal output the joint positions of Austria and Hungary (as compared with Czecho-Slovakia), may be understood from the following figures :—In 1913 Austria-Hungary, including Czecho-Slovakia, produced 17.8 million tons of coal, or 1.46 per cent. of the world's total output. In 1921 Austria and Hungary, that is the present republics, produced 1.4 million tons or 0.14 per cent. of the world's total output. Czecho-Slovakia produced in 1921, 11.7 million tons, or 1.2 per cent. of the world's output. It will be seen that Czecho-Slovakia was the coal producing centre of the former Empire, and Austria must always depend on this country, and upon southern Germany for her supplies of coal. Perhaps the most important factor, however, impeding Central European trade, is what has been aptly called the " St. Vitus's dance of the exchange." The forces governing the movements of the European exchanges are exceedingly obscure.

The accompanying table will show that the last fall in the

TABLE OF EXCHANGE.

THE FIGURES QUOTED GIVE THE VALUE OF THE £.

	Pre-War.	March, 1919.	Oct. 1919.	July, 1922.	Oct. 21, 1922.
FRANCE ...	25.22½ Fr.	27.4 Fr.	36.5 Fr.	52.8 Fr.	62.60 Fr.
GERMANY ...	20.43 Mk.	49.5 Mk.	89 Mk.	2,130 Mk.	19,600 Mk.
POLAND ...	20.43 Mk.	No independent currency	113.7 Mk.	24,976 Mk.	52,500 Mk.
AUSTRIA ...	24.02 Kr.	126 Kr.	232.5 Kr.	131,160 Kr.	330,000 Kr.
HUNGARY ...	24.02 Kr.	No independent currency	No independent currency	6,080 Kr.	10,500 Kr.
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA	24.02 Kr.	No independent currency	102 Kr.	201 Kr.	138 Kr.
SERBIA	25.22½ Dinars	(Now Yugo Slavia.) No independent currency	56 Dinars	370 Dinars	240 Dinars

Note that in the last three months the Franc has depreciated 18 per cent., the Hungarian Krone 74 per cent., the Polish Mark 100 per cent., and the Austrian Krone 250 per cent. The German Mark, however, has fallen far more steeply than any of the other currencies during this period, having depreciated to less than one-eighth of its former value; that is to say, a depreciation of over 850 per cent.

German mark was accompanied by a fall in the Austrian and Hungarian kronen, and the Polish mark and also the French franc, but by a rise in the Czecho-Slovak and Jugo-Slav currencies. The table will also show another significant circumstance, namely the sudden collapse of the mark and of the associated currencies at the end of July. It is difficult to account for this movement. In Germany three explanations were given, namely the steady depletion of that country's resources by the reparation demands, the failure of the Conference in Paris at the end of July, in which hopes had been raised by the promise of a possible loan from America, and lastly the panic caused by the assassination of Rathenau. Whatever the causes have been, however, the movement of the exchange in the last three months has rendered it practically impossible for Austria to buy anything from Czecho-Slovakia, and the industries of the former country have suffered accordingly.

Some Austrians think that with a sufficiently large loan their country could make use of the water-power existing in the mountainous parts, to electrify her industries and railways and to produce nitrates and other artificial manures on a scale that would make it self-supporting. One authority is even convinced that if the Allies had given to Austria in one lump sum, the money that has been made available for her in small drafts, and if Austria had possessed a leader sufficiently clear-sighted to see the conditions into which that country was sinking, and armed with sufficient authority to dispose of such a sum to her best advantage, Austria might have been saved. Another suggestion was that the Danube should be internationalised, and made a free means of transport between the countries through which it flows, thus in a sense making an attempt to restore a state of free trade between the Danubian countries. There are other suggestions of the same tentative and speculative nature.

The most prominent feature of Austria's condition now is that no one has any hope. Viennese people think that the logical thing for their country to do is to join on to South Germany, and they feel a considerable amount of resentment; because whereas the Allies' policy in the past has always been to subordinate economic to ethnographical considerations, in all cases that could prove injurious to the defeated countries, none the less when the opportunity arises to apply the principle of nationality in a way that could be helpful to these countries (the case of Austria and South Germany being in point), the Allies will not hear of it. It is realised, however, that the British are not instrumental in preventing this issue, and the blame is not laid at our door.

It is, perhaps, typical of the character of the Austrians, and also reflects the state of complete exhaustion and abject discouragement in which that people are now plunged, that they do not particularly hate any of their neighbours. An Austrian said: "It is clear that economically we cannot now stand alone. If we are to continue to exist, we shall have to join on to some other country. I do not know that it particularly matters, but it is at the same time difficult to see which. The Italians would not want us to join with the Czecho-Slovaks; the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs would not have us join with the Italians, and the French would under no circumstances tolerate our joining with the South Germans."

The English are, if anything, popular. The action of Lord Cavan in sending supplies of rations from Italy to Vienna, immediately after the Armistice, at a time when the need for food was cruellest, evoked around everything English an overwhelming popular enthusiasm. This action, together with the formulation of the 14 points, which were accepted and professed by the Allies, and the spirit of which was trusted by the Austrians, gave rise immediately after the Armistice to expectations (of a treatment) which were sadly belied by the actual reality of the Peace. Also the efforts made by the British and American peoples in the direction of providing relief for Vienna after the Armistice have been appreciated. The absence of any such relief coming from France, and the knowledge that it is that country which stands in the way of their carrying out the spirit of the Peace Treaty, in so far as concerns their racial kinship with South Germany, causes them to say that if there is a country in Europe which they hate, it is France.

For food, Austria depended before the war on the surplus produced in other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The richest part of the Empire was that known as the Batchka and Banat, situated before 1919 in southern Hungary, and after that date in Northern Jugo-Slavia. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that this area is the most fertile in Europe. I passed through it in the autumn of 1920. I have never in my life seen such an abundance of food of every description as was displayed in the market place and along both sides of the main street of Novi-Sad, one of the centres in which the produce of the country is disposed of. The square and the principal thoroughfare were lined with peasants' stalls displaying heaps of fruit, chiefly plums and grapes, small pyramids of loaves of bread, great sides of meat, and buckets full of cream and butter. The sight of such a plethora of food contrasting with the stark want that I had witnessed in Vienna ten days before, made me realise that the problem in the Danubian countries was at the bottom, one of transport and

organisation, and that what really was at fault was a little good will among their peoples.

Another problem for the Viennese is that of dealing with the peasant population in Austria. The feeling between the latter and the townspeople has since the war been far from cordial. In times of real stress it is always possible for the peasant who controls the essentials of life, in the shape of bodily sustenance, to dispense with the products of towns and civilisation such as books, machinery, textiles, finished clothes, boots, etc., and live next to nature. Further, the traditional sense of superiority felt by townspeople over peasants, is an attitude of which the peasants in Austria have not been unconscious, and it has made them feel indisposed to undertake any considerable trouble and labour, in the way of revising and improving their agricultural methods for ends entirely outside themselves. Nor must the natural conservatism of the peasant be forgotten.

An Austrian said : " It is not wholly untrue to say that the Englishman who has sent a small contribution for our relief here, cares more for the fate of Vienna than does the average peasant 50 miles out of the town." The visitor living in an expensive hotel, and frequenting the opera, and other places of amusement should remember two things when he passes judgment on the condition of the inhabitants. The first is that the people he sees in these localities are, in the greater proportion, not Viennese, but foreigners, who are able to pay the prices charged through their relative advantage in exchange. The second is that when the currency is depreciating in value as rapidly as it has done within the last two months, the one fatal thing to do is to economise. Everyone, as soon as he comes into possession of any money, rushes at once to invest it in goods of some kind, since the purchasing power of that money in the course of the next week will probably have seriously diminished. " Eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we do not know what our money will be worth. If I have enough money to buy a glass of beer or secure a place in the Cinema, I will make the best of it now, for to-morrow both may cost twice as much and be out of my reach."

There is a story current in Vienna which sounds grotesque but actually represents faithfully the existing condition of things. There were two brothers who lived in the Capital before the war. One was thrifty, parsimonious and lived on a minimum. He saved all his money with the hope of setting aside enough for a comfortable old age. The other was extravagant and dissipated and squandered all his money in drink. They each continued on these lines until September 1922, when it was found that the empty bottles accumulated by the spendthrift in the course of his debauches, were worth more than the life-long savings of his brother.

This would actually be true. An empty wine bottle would probably now cost some 1,000 or 1,500 kronen, that is to say more than half a year's pre-war savings of a man earning 50 kronen, or about £2 a week. There is another story of a man who had lived in a lunatic asylum for the last ten years. He was finally pronounced cured and liberated. At the door of the asylum the man summoned a taxi and ordered the driver to take him home. On arriving at his destination he asked the fare. The driver scrutinised his meter, made a calculation and announced "Fifty-five thousand kronen." "Be good enough," said the gentleman stepping back into the taxi, "to drive me back to where I started. I see that I have been let out too soon."

In all the countries we visited, we found within fairly wide limits the same general conditions prevailing among students. It must be realised that the Continental universities are not conducted on the same lines as Oxford and Cambridge. In the first place the fees are much lower, so that a university education is open to a considerably wider circle of people than with us. In the second place there is no college life. Before the war 95 per cent. of the students lived at home or in lodgings, and attended lectures daily at the University or technical college, or Fine Arts school. Their studies had to be completed, and their degrees taken, at an earlier age than is possible in England on account of the necessity of doing military service. These students have, therefore, to work much harder than ours, and have no time to play games. The average student of 21 in France or Germany, would probably have in his head a far larger store of systematic knowledge, and a more extensive equipment of facts than would an Englishman of that age. Another source of contrast springs from the Public School system, to which there is nothing comparable on the Continent. The training of the English public school may not be calculated to instil great erudition, but two things, perhaps, more important are aquired there. In the first place, the feeling of *esprit de corps* is learnt, springing from the games and the house system which exists largely on a competitive basis; and in the second place, the senior boys, upon whom the administration of the games and the house almost entirely falls (the essence of the system being that it is self-governing), learn to undertake responsibilities and acquire the mental habit of organisation and leadership at a far earlier age than does the boy brought up on the Continental system. The merits of this were clearly shown at the outbreak of the war when English boys of 18 and 19 were found capable of taking command of platoons and companies, and of doing work which a German would only be regarded as equal to performing after several years of preliminary training in a military "Cadetenschule."

We found that the students in all the Capitals visited had adapted themselves to the stress of post-war conditions in approximately the same general manner. The most conspicuous feature was the way they had organised themselves into self-help societies. In Oxford the undergraduates are little organised for anything but games. The enormous number of undergraduate societies, many with extraordinary names, are not in the strict sense organisations with a purpose beyond the provision of entertainment or amusement, or in rare cases the edification of their members. There is no single central body representing all the undergraduates in the University. A proposal made at the end of last Easter Term to form such a body consisting of the Presidents of the Junior Common Rooms of Colleges, met with violent opposition and was almost universally rejected.

In Continental University towns, however, every school of study has since the war been organised and has elected a Committee which deals with the various forms of self-help. Every faculty is also represented by a single member, on a higher Committee, responsible for the University as a whole, and all the universities of the country are in their turn represented by a central committee, generally in the Capital, the President of which is in close touch with the Minister of Education and with the Government. Apart from this general scheme there are numerous other minor societies, all formed with the immediate objects of either finding work for students to enable them to make enough money to pay for their studies, or for the purpose of distributing relief where it is most needed, or, with the end of finding an occupation for the students after they have graduated.

Our party was received and welcomed in every capital by a student who was, if not President of the Central Committee of Students, at any rate a member of that Committee, and who held this representative position with the acknowledgment and approval of all the societies, in whose name he was intended to speak. Then we found that in every capital students were doing additional work to pay for their fees, board and lodging. There was practically no skilled or unskilled work that students were not attempting. Those with musical talent formed part of orchestras in Cafés and Restaurants; others were cinema acting, collecting tickets on tramways, teaching and tutoring, waiting in hotels, night watching, mining or doing agricultural work. A large percentage of students did "evening work" during the term and nearly all did "holiday work" during the vacations.

Then in every capital there were students' hostel organisations, providing board for the poorer students at a much cheaper rate than could be obtained in any private lodgings. In some cases these hostels were subsidised by the Government, and in others

they were helped by the European Student Relief, a large and active body with its headquarters in Geneva, and with centres in all the university towns. The numbers of students living in these hostels varied in the different capitals with the available accommodation and with the poorness of the students. We slept in such hostels in all the places we visited. The beds were arranged in cubicles, or more frequently in dormitories, each with a mattress (generally of straw), a blanket, a pillow and one sheet. There was no hardship in living thus in September. It would have been a different matter, however, in January or February, with the temperature many degrees below zero, and no fuel of any sort to burn. Students frequently followed the practice of getting up for lectures and mensas, and of doing most of their individual work wrapped up in bed.

In all the universities we found a system of communal meals, called students' mensas. These in most cases were helped by the European Student Relief, and were thus enabled to make a charge considerably below what would have been asked at the least luxurious public eating house. The routine at these mensas was generally as follows : breakfast consisted of a cup of coffee and a slice of black bread. (No continental person, of whatever station, eats as large a breakfast as we do.) At noon is eaten the principal meal of the day which provides meat a varying number of times, generally twice a week. The food is substantial, but not of high nutritive value, consisting typically of a thick soup, some vegetables, such as boiled potatoes or beans, and a dish of rice by way of pudding, there being, in all, three courses. The supper provided in the evening is less abundant than the mid-day meal, and consists of one plateful of food. The number at these mensas varies considerably, but cannot be taken as an index to measure the need of the students ; large numbers sometimes imply, as in Prague, nothing more than efficiency of student organisation, and do not necessarily indicate any greater or less degree of student hardship.

Lastly there is an obvious tendency for people to devote themselves to some form of study by which they can later earn their living. There are fewer people reading philosophy, theology and history, and more reading medicine, engineering and chemistry than before the war—a state of things which also obtains to a lesser extent in England.

The characteristic feature of students in Vienna was their hopelessness and depression. There seemed to be less self-help organisation here than in other countries.

The European Student Relief started work in Austria at the beginning of 1920 with the general idea of assisting the students

of that country through the stress of the immediate post-war period. It was hoped that this would last only 18 months or two years, and that by that time Austria would have righted herself sufficiently no longer to need help. In May and June of 1921 this hope showed signs of realisation, but was disappointed the following autumn, and now the conditions confronting students in the coming winter are probably harder than any since 1919.

The University of Vienna contains about 23,000 students, in addition to which there are three other universities in Austria, at Graz, Innsbruck and Leoben, containing in all about 6,000 students. This ratio illustrates well the centralisation in Vienna. It will be instructive to quote the actual monthly budget of a Viennese student covering the month of November last year. The expenses include reduced prices for rooms, mid-day and evening meal in mensa, and reduced class fees for a native Austrian :—

Income.	Kr.	*Expenditure.*	Kr.
Through playing in café houses	7,000	Lodging	300
For work done in opticians' shop	2,000	Service	100
Gift from E.S.R. ...	5,000	Laundry	300
		Light	300
		Rationed food ...	500
		Mensa	1,000
		Tram	800
		Class fees for two medical courses ...	4,000
		Repairs on a suit ...	4,000
		Miscellaneous ...	1,000
	Kr.14,000		Kr.12,300

Thus it will be seen that this particular student did not have an easy time to make ends meet. In fact he could not have done so without help. Very many students find themselves, in this way, only just able to struggle along. Then unexpectedly the exchange crashes. The way it has crashed in the last three months may be realised from the following table, which shows a comparison of the prices in Vienna when we were there this year,

at the beginning of September, with what they were a fortnight before:—

	Aug. 23, 1922.	Sept. 6, 1922.
Loaf of 1 kilo	3,100	6,000
Meat, per kilo	15,000	20,000
Sugar, per kilo ...	8,000	22,000
Shoes	130,000	250,000 to 300,000

Conceive what this must mean to a student who cannot, like the labouring man, strike for higher wages. Imagine the despair that must enter into him when a thing of this kind suddenly happens, and the bitterness he must feel when he sees foreigners flocking to Vienna, profiting gleefully at the collapse of the exchange so disastrous for him and then making jests about how funny it is that 10,000 kronen are really worth only about eightpence. The student feels approximately what we would feel if we were next to death's door through starvation ourselves, and saw foreigners feasting on the little food there was in the country, and finding it amusing as well as profitable that £100 was worth less than 30 centimes, or that 5 cents was equiavlent to about £170. Before the war the Austrian krone stood at about 24 to the £, just a little higher than the franc, which stood at 25. When we were in Vienna it was at 340,000 to the £. A tram fare cost Kr.1,000. To get one's shoes cleaned cost Kr.2,000. Not the best seats in the opera cost Kr.5,000 each. The shops protect themselves to a certain extent by charging two prices, one for foreigners and the other for Viennese. One or two theatres charge foreigners more than natives. Professor Freud charges Englishmen £1, and Americans 4 dollars entrance fees to his lectures, which it appears are thronged by medical students and others, who feel that it gives them status to have attended at least one of his discourses. This enables them to claim that they are pupils of Freud. He devotes the money made in this way to Student relief.

The European Student Relief gives assistance to the 14 hostels in Vienna in the shape of cocoa, with a little milk and sugar. The last is a necessity of which there is at present an acute shortage in Austria. These grants help with breakfasts. Coal in limited quantities, and a certain number of blankets are also bought and distributed among the hostels. There is also a clothing scheme conducted by the students' committees, representing various faculties in the universtiy. Boots and clothes of all sorts are, of course, much in demand, and everything second-hand is willingly accepted.

Textbooks have also been supplied by the European Student Relief to students. The conditions relative to the supply of these may be realised from the circumstance that it is frequently necessary that a single book be shared by 10 or 15 students in rotation. Help is also given in special cases of talent, or of need arising from extreme poverty, or ill-health. At the beginning of this year 800 such special cases were being cared for by the European Student Relief. Assistance has also been given to a group of 5th year students, whose graduation has long been delayed owing to their continually having had to give up their studies in order to earn enough money to enable them to exist.

There is no doubt that the good work done by the European Student Relief in Vienna has been very substantial, and the share taken in this by the English universities is, I think, realised and appreciated by Austrian students. In this connection it is important to remember that quite small sums, consisting of a few shillings, can do more good when invested through channels open to the Executive of the European Student Relief in Vienna, than the purchasing value of such an amount in England would lead one to suppose. No sum that any undergraduate can spare for Austria is too small.

There is one other condition peculiar to Vienna, which is perhaps the most disheartening of all to the student. It is that the prospects of his finding an occupation after he has graduated are frequently exceedingly remote. Before the war the whole Austro-Hungarian Empire was open to Viennese students. Now, Austria is far too small to provide employment and occupation for all her 29,000 students. The depressing effect of this knowledge on the toiling undergraduate may easily be understood. If, at the end of the struggle, involved in his years of study, the student could see a definite hope of making good, and of securing for himself some kind of position, he could meet his trials confident in the knowledge that at their worst they were of limited duration. But if he feels it possible that when his immediate goal of graduation is reached, he may find himself without any prospect of employment, and when he sees people who are his teachers (to whose proficiency in their subject he can himself scarcely aspire), committing suicide because they cannot make ends meet, then the future is truly dark. Under the circumstances it is remarkable how friendly the Viennese people are to foreigners, and I think it is highly questionable whether we, in their position, would show ourselves as courteous and as polite.

HUNGARY

We travelled from Vienna to Budapest along the Danube by boat, accomplishing the journey, which was comfortable and interesting, in almost exactly 12 hours. The river, which varies in breadth from 300 yards to over a quarter of a mile, in the first part flowed through very flat open country, but later took us through hilly districts where in parts it was bordered by steep rocks. Our reception on arrival at Budapest was overwhelming. We were met on the quay by a crowd of about 50 students whose cordiality and friendliness completely broke up our party, and caused us temporarily to mislay most of our luggage.

This welcome, staggering as it was, proved to be in keeping with the treatment we received in the course of the rest of our stay. The morning following our arrival we were officially welcomed on behalf of the Government, by the Minister of Education in the House of Parliament, and at later periods many photographs were taken of us in various picturesque and historical backgrounds. Also we were cinematographed. I mention this in order that any undergraduate visiting Hungary for the first time in the near future may know what to expect from this most hospitable and warm-hearted people.

Within its present boundaries Hungary is one of the smallest States of Central Europe in both area (35,000 square miles) and population (7,500,000 or 210 per square mile). Before the war the area of this country was 125,600 square miles, and the population 20,900,000, so that it has been reduced by the Peace Treaty to about one-third of its former dimensions.

As in the case of Austria, a large part of the population is centred in a single city, Budapest, containing some 900,000 inhabitants. Of Magyars and closely related groups in former Hungary, 2,000,000 are left outside her present boundaries, the most definite and compact of these being the Szekelys of Transylvania. Before the war the country was protected by a mountainous border on the north, east and extreme south-west. Now the frontier passes within the circle of mountains through a flat plain with few woods. The population is almost entirely agricultural. The country has neither sufficient fuel nor the necessary raw materials to produce an adequate supply of manufactured goods, and even before the war it imported a third of its coal supply.

Estergon, the boundary between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, lies within 30 miles of Budapest. That is to say that with the aid of modern artillery, this city could be shelled from outside Hungary's frontiers.

The Hungarians or Magyars were originally a Steppe people. A race of nomadic horsemen which conquered the middle Danube about 895 A.D., they have always been a people of the plains, and have left to others the bordering high-lands. With a language remote from that of their neighbours, and a territory fringed for long distances by high-wooded mountains, holding the heart of the land, they have stood together socially and politically, different in speech and in customs, from the peoples they had conquered.

Owing to the flatness of the country Hungary is devoid of water-power. The Tisza, after the Danube the principal river, has a fall of only 100 feet from the Carpathian hills to its junction with the Danube. There is no precious metal in the country, but there are several important deposits of coal. The reserves of the Pécs fields are said to amount to 110,000,000 tons, and the coal being of quite good quality, the Jugo-Slavs wished to exploit them for five years as compensation for the destruction of their mines by the Austro-German armies. The loss of coal which Hungary suffers as a result of the new boundary arrangements, affects chiefly her reserve supplies, but of her former iron ore deposits, which amounted to more than 1,000,000 tons in 1913, those left to her represent but one-fifth.

The central plain of Hungary, a western outpost of the great Eurasian Steppe, was formed by the gradual silting up of a large inland sea, remnants of which still survive in the shape of shallow lagoons. The temperature is subject to violent extremes, the country is treeless, and flooding is characteristic of the rivers, and especially of the Tisza, upon whose banks but few towns have sprung up. Szeged, the chief of these, was practically destroyed by inundations in 1879.

Nearly three-quarters of the people of Hungary used to derive their living from the land. Reduced to the limits of her present boundaries, Hungary becomes still more exclusively an agricultural State. Though she loses the maize and wheat lands of the Batchka and Banat, and the barley and sugar beet fields north of the Danube, the area of good agricultural land is now higher than it was in proportion to the population. Thus the population is reduced approximately to 35 per cent. of the old figure, while the yield of wheat and rye is 46 and 60 per cent. respectively of what it formerly was, that of barley 47 per cent., of maize 35 per cent., of oats 32 per cent., of potatoes 40 per cent., and lastly that of sugar beets 37 per cent. of the pre-war figure. The

losses are heaviest in oats and maize, which are important for cattle breeding, as well as being the principal articles of export. The loss of potatoes, mainly to Slovakia, is also severely felt, since it is upon this diet that the poorer classes mainly subsist.

Generally speaking, the yield of the crops in proportion to the population might seem to indicate a favourable situation for the Magyars, but it should be remembered that agricultural products are now almost the only source of exports to pay for imported goods. With the loss of Carpathian, Transylvania and Slovakia, Hungary is deprived not only of mineral resources and water-power, but also of a great proportion of her valuable forests. The losses of these are oak, 77.8 per cent.; beech, 86.6 per cent.; and pines, 97.4 per cent.; so that it is now necessary for Hungary to import a commodity, the export of which formerly brought her considerable profits. Hungary has only a quarter of her former capacity to support sheep, and wool production has fallen accordingly, so that now, at least half of her requirements of woollen products have to be covered by imported goods. Cattle falls to 31 per cent., horses to 40 per cent., and pigs to 44 per cent. of the pre-war numbers. She has been deprived of 48 per cent. of her supply of hemp, two-thirds of her flax lands, 42 per cent. of her spindles; and 84 per cent. of her weaving looms, and three-quarters of her glass works have been lost.

The Magyars are a proud and masterful race, with a burning patriotism and race consciousness.

Aime ta patrie, O Magyar
D'un amour fier, jaloux, beau.

Their history has been one of struggle from the year 1563, when they first met the Turks at Adrianople, and since then they have constantly fought against this invader. They had imposed their rule on their surrounding neighbours, the Serbs, the Roumanians, the Carpathian Ruthenians and the Slovaks. They were hard taskmasters. The combination of graciousness, good manners, and charm, is often found in association with the qualities of a stern and merciless overlord, as, for instance, also, in the case of the Turk. As a result of their *régime* they were hated by the surrounding alien populations over whom they ruled, and here again it is not easy to determine to what extent the territorial changes resulting from the Peace were the handiwork of the Allied Powers, and to what extent the outcome of the natural operation of racial hatreds that had smouldered for centuries and were suddenly liberated by the collapse of the central empires.

The potency of these forces of hatred is illustrated by the way that the border races previously subject to Hungary fell upon

her after the Armistice like a pack of wolves. No one of them waited until the Peace Treaty with Hungary was signed, but against the orders of the Paris Conference they rushed in to occupy the territory they expected to receive. While Roumania was the most extreme, seizing and carrying away the greatest amount of property, all followed the same general policy. Roumania first went beyond the demarcation line set for her armies by the Allied and Associated Powers, then passed the line of the proposed new boundary, invaded central Hungary itself and early in August 1919 occupied Budapest. . In the two following months she defied the Peace Conference, then seized and sent over the border vast quantities of supplies. Her excuse was that much more had been requisitioned in Roumania by the Austro-Hungarian army authorities in the period of military occupation before the close of the war. In addition to the Roumanian advance, Hungary suffered aggression at the hands of two other neighbours. At Pécs, the Yugo-Slavs occupied certain coalmines without authorisation, and the Czecho-Slovaks likewise passed beyond their demarcation lines, and like the Serbians and Roumanians began at once to persecute and drive out the people who had previously ruled over them. The military occupation of portions of Hungary by these countries was not discontinued until the summer of 1920, after the Peace Treaty had been signed and only then under pressure of the Allied Powers.

In the course of our stay, we were taken to see a number of refugees from the lost territories. Belonging chiefly to the middle classes, they were schoolmasters, policemen, railway officials, etc., all of whom had been replaced by corresponding officials of the superseding countries. These refugees were living under trying conditions. A certain number of barracks, asylums and hospitals, containing large bare rooms, had been allotted to them by the Government, and there they lived between frail partitions of thin wood or stretched blankets, which only reached a third of the way to the ceiling. A family dwells in each compartment, sleeping and feeding there and paying 130 kronen a month.

The building we visited contained 180 families, a dozen or so of which lived in the same room, so that a child crying at one end of it would disturb perhaps eight or nine families. We also saw a number of refugees living in railway vans and trucks in a large siding. The conditions of these people here seemed, at first sight, better than those in the barracks, but we saw them at the mildest season of the year. We were all struck most forcibly by the remarkable cleanliness and order in these sidings. Such a condition could only have been maintained by the observance of a rigorous discipline and by conformity to strict sanitary

measures and precautions. There must have been some 200 people of all ages living in these trucks. There was not visible a single stray bit of rubbish or refuse of any kind anywhere in the long straight alleys of flint ballast between the rails on which the trucks were standing. It is doubtful whether such a condition could have been found in France or Italy, and the cleanliness manifested under such difficult and discouraging circumstances was an elementary but convincing proof of the genuineness of Magyar culture. There is always a peculiar quality of pathos about homeless refugees, and this quality was marked in those whom we here saw meeting their fate with such stoical fortitude.

We were entertained one evening by Transylvanian refugee students. The Magyars are very efficient propagandists. In the course of our stay we were overwhelmed with a number of pamphlets, all of them very well got up, that were presented to us in such numbers that we feared trouble at impending frontiers. Not the least successful item of propaganda was the appearance on the evening in question of several attractive Transylvanian girls, dressed in their national costumes, some of whom recited and sang, and all of whom assisted in our initiation into the feats of the Hungarian National Dance—a most heating and exhausting experience.

The Transylvanians are a people renowned for their attachment to home and the soil. These student refugees sang songs, which, of course, we could not understand, but which were extremely expressive of the nostalgia they felt for the country from which they had been driven and for the homes which had passed into other hands. The resentment felt against the surrounding countries was, of course, intense, and they all cherished an ardent hope that their point of view should be understood by foreign people, English and Americans especially, and that other countries should sympathise with their national plight. The movements in the Near East, which were beginning then, were watched with the keenest interest in that they represented the first active repudiation of the Peace Treaties, by which they considered that they, together with the Turks, had been victimised and robbed.

The language of the Magyars bears no relation to the languages of the surrounding races. It does not belong, as do almost all other European tongues, to the Indo-Germanic group. The Magyars, therefore, have to be good linguists. The majority speak three or four languages, and the number of them that speak English is strikingly large. The whole population possesses an intense belief in the genuineness of the traditional English qualities, and they entertain a fervent hope that in the near future a friendly understanding may be established between the

two countries. This attitude of mind probably springs just as much from a disinterested appreciation of certain of our racial characteristics, with which they feel they have an affinity, as from a desire to follow a profitable foreign policy. The enthusiasm with which anything English is read, and the warmth with which English people are received, is a feature which can escape no English visitor, and which cannot fail to impress itself on any undergraduate who in the next two or three years may visit Hungary.

One other trial which has beset Hungary should be mentioned before the special condition of students is considered, namely, that of the Bolshevist *régime*. In the face of an approaching famine at the end of the war, numbers of peasants, who were not always generously treated by the autocratic ruling class owning most of the territory, in many places rose up, killed their landlords and seized the land. Many of the larger estates were placed in the hands of co-operative production societies, and the movement spread to the towns where it degenerated into an undisciplined class war. In March of 1919 the Government initiated by Karolyi was succeeded by the administration of the Bolshevists under Bela Kun. Under this *régime* hundreds of thousands of pounds were stolen from the public treasury and distributed on the order of no central authority ; a certain amount of damage was done to public statues and buildings, some houses were sacked, and the economic plight of the country was considerably aggravated.

There are four universities in Hungary, which in all support over 19,000 students. They are distributed as follows : Budapest, 13,000 ; Szeged, 1,200 ; Debrecen, 800 ; Pécs, 1,200. Till 50 years ago there was only one seat of higher learning at Budapest, namely, the present University. Since that time, when new arrangements have had to be made to meet the demands of a scientific training, other buildings have been erected, and there are now four such seats, a description of which presents in English certain difficulties of terminology. Of these seats the University (the word is used in a restricted sense) is the largest, and contains five faculties of Theology (60 students), Law (1,200 students), Philosophy (600 students), Medicine (4,500 students), and Economics (2,000 students). The School of Economics will, in two years cease to be a faculty of the University, and will have a status equivalent to that of the mother University itself, when it will possess four faculties, namely, those of the Economic Law, Commerce, Foreign Affairs (which apparently gives training for service abroad), and Agriculture.

The second seat is the Technical College. We were shown over

this magnificently equipped building, which contains the most up-to-date appliances for its four faculties of Chemistry, Architecture, Surveying and Mechanical Engineering. It also provides a two year course for students who have graduated in Economics in the University. Attached to the Technical College is a Sports Club, where we were given interesting displays of fencing, wrestling and boxing. The Hungarians are very anxious to develop sports and games as a part of the school and university education, and are keen on international meetings. There followed on our footsteps to Budapest a joint team representing the Oxford and Cambridge athletic clubs, who, if they were entertained as we were, must have found it somewhat difficult to keep strict training. The Technical College contains in all some 5,100 students. The Fine Arts College and Veterinary College, which have a status equivalent to that of the University and Technical College, are small containing about 40 and 400 students respectively.

I do not think that we encountered in any other country such remarkable vitality and energy as was evinced by the Hungarian students, yet they had to contend against the same general adverse conditions as confronted the Austrians, namely, a lack of fuel and an unstable rapidly depreciating currency associated with the same meteoric rise in prices within the last few months.

A kilo of meat cost, in June, Kr.120; in September it cost Kr.340.

A kilo of bread, in June, cost Kr.44; in September it cost Kr.100.

A tram fare, in June, cost Kr.8; in September it cost Kr.15.

A pair of boots cost, in June, Kr.2,600; and in September Kr.6,000.

A suit of clothes cost, in June, Kr.3,000 to Kr.4,000; and in September Kr.12,000 to Kr.18,000.

In May, the £ had been equivalent to about Kr.4,000; in July to Kr.5,000; in September to Kr.10,000, and the exchange was depreciating further while we were there.

To meet these conditions the students had organised themselves in many striking ways, of which not the least remarkable was the formation of what was called the "Centrum Students' Society," or, more fully, the "Hungarian Christian Socialist Students' Co-operative Society," which deserves the closest attention of the English undergraduate. The aim of this body was to create facilities for the student to obtain the necessaries of life as cheaply as possible. It has had an amazing career. Founded in January 1920, with a capital of Kr.4,500, this sum was increased in six months to Kr.500,000. In the year 1921 the value of what was sold amounted to Kr.21,000,000, and in the last year, though the money has decreased in value by one-half,

the turnover has increased four times. At the beginning of 1920 there was a single shop. Now, there exist a laundry, a tailoring and shoemaking shop, a shoe repairing establishment, a men's and women's clothes shop, two milk shops, a barber's shop and a grocery. Small stores of food are provided at the mensas ; there is a Centrum book publishing association, and there is now under consideration a scheme for founding both an undergraduate newspaper and a credit system with an issue of shares for students. From these sources everything can be bought 30 per cent. cheaper than in any of the town shops.

The above is a good example of how central European students are now helping themselves. The founding and subsequent administration of this society was largely the work of a single personality, a student called Bornemisza, whom we met—a tall, powerfully built quiet man with, in his face, a strong suggestion of the energy, organising ability and tirelessness implied in the magnitude of the enterprise he had accomplished.

There exists another remarkable student body, the " Labour Defence Group," the activities of which have something in common with those of the Fascisti in Italy. Its object is to safeguard the country against strikes. It was organised three years ago after the fall of the Bolshevists, and performed first on the occasion of a printers' strike, when it set the type for a Government paper, the " Morning News," in August, 1919. The members of this group were threatened by the Roumanian troops and by the Communists, but were not deterred from their object of breaking the strike that menaced the capital. The printers' section were again at work in February, 1921, and when the crisis was over the strikers themselves expressed their admiration of the technical quality of the work done by the students, who, on this occasion, had availed themselves of outside assistance in the shape of nuns and boy scouts. This section has now been organised and is ready at a moment's notice to step into the breach created by a printers' strike. A mining detachment was founded at the close of 1920, and is kept in readiness to proceed, in the event of a miners' strike, to any part of the country, where the first object would be to keep the pumps working until the arrival of workers under military control. Also there has been established a section dealing with Electric Light, which was put through a four to five weeks' course at the Kelenföld Power Station built in 1913, and one of the largest of its kind in Europe.

There are also gas and water-supply sections, so that Budapest is now protected against strikes threatening electricity, gas, and water supply. Students have been trained to drive steam engines and electric motors, and there are also chauffeur and tram-

driving sections which would be of the greatest ultility in the event of a general transport strike.

One could not help being struck with what, for lack of a better name, one might call the "generation consciousness" in these students. They felt very strongly that the welfare of Hungary not only in the future, but in the actual present, rested on their shoulders.

"We were not responsible for the war, but we are collectively responsible now, more than any other section of the Hungarian people, to prevent such a thing happening again, and to set our country on its legs." This feeling, spreading right through the student class, gives them a tremendous solidarity, *esprit de corps* and inspiration.

Of the 19,000 students in Hungary, only 2,500 can support themselves without doing additional money-earning work, 4,700 are living on the products of their own work and on State relief, while the number depending on the mensas (of which there are 40 in Budapest), is about 8,000. At these meals, which cost only Kr.10, and are given free to those students who serve, meat is supplied twice a week. Of the 12,000 in Budapest, 7,000 live in hostels where they have to pay considerably less than they would in a private lodging. In June the average price for a bed in one of the cheapest lodgings would be Kr.1,500 to Kr.2,000 a month. A bed in one of the best students' hostels, one that is with central heating, would cost Kr.1,000 to Kr.1,500 for the same length of time. The cost of living in hostels has gone up about three times since last year. The Government has the condition of students closely at heart. Last year Kr.48,000,000 were spent for the purpose of student relief by the State Department of Education while this year Kr.60,000,000 are being devoted to the same purpose.

As in other countries, the salaried middle classes and the educated classes are the hardest hit by the new conditions. They have always been the least capable of resistance to outside pressure, and the least organised element in the community. In former times an official was able to cover the costs of his son's or daughter's education out of one-fifth of his salary : to-day four-fifths of his emoluments would be insufficient for the purpose. The income of one of the best paid university professors is approximately adequate to cover the cost of living for one-third of the year. Of the 19,000 students, 32 per cent. of whom are refugees, 7,000 appealed for help from the European Student Relief, the secretary of which, in Budapest, is Mr. Legate, who has been lent to the European Student Relief by the American Young Men's Christian Association. This gentleman has devised a most elaborate questionnaire to help him to dispose of his resources where they

are most needed. Searching questions are put relating to the income of the student, his home, the number living in one room, its heating, lighting and bathing possibilities, its adaptation to study, his meals, the places at which they are obtained, and their cost, his clothes, his state of health, etc.

Students are classified into four categories.

(*d*) (containing about 300) comprises those who would be entirely incapable of remaining at the university without help.

(*c*) (containing about 1,000) comprises those who are just capable, without help, of sustaining life in the barest poverty, but can do no more.

(*b*) (containing some 3,000) are those who can provide food for themselves, but not clothes or books.

(*a*) (also containing about 3,000) are those to whom help is given occasionally, in moments of need, but who receive no regular assistance.

Mr. Legate has devised the following ingenious method of introducing a uniform standard into his distributions.

Every student in Budapest belongs to one of eleven societies, each of which is represented by a single member. These representative members meet regularly, and a claim for assistance on the part of a given student is advanced at this meeting of eleven by his representative, and is either passed or rejected by the other ten. These decisions are carried out in a spirit of conspicuous impartiality, and it is rare that a member stresses a claim for which he is responsible beyond its deserts. One of the functions of the self-help societies in Budapest is to raise sufficient money to support their poorer members. One such society raised Kr.200,000. Another function is that of finding occupations for students after they have graduated. Fortunately Hungary is able, in contrast to Austria, to absorb all her students with the exception of those intending to be teachers; the latter have been evicted from the lost territories, and all driven back on Budapest. The country needs all its engineers, doctors and agricultural experts. There is not much unemployment. A skilled workman in September received from Kr.800 to Kr.1,000 a day; an unskilled from Kr.500 to Kr.600; or from Kr.70 to Kr.80 an hour.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

On entering Czecho-Slovakia we found ourselves in a country which differed from the other four we visited in that it had been favoured by the Peace Treaty, could balance its annual Budget, and possessed an exchange which had not fallen in the last three months, but, on the contrary, had risen to about twice its previous value. In July, the Czecho-Slovakian krone was bought at the rate of about 240 to the £; in September, it had gone up to 130, and the cost of living had not diminished correspondingly. Czecho-Slovakia was, therefore, an exceedingly expensive country to live in, more so, in fact, than this country.

The journey from Budapest to Prague was simple. We left Budapest at 8 a.m., and arrived in Prague at 8.30 p.m. of the same day. All our travelling was done second class, which proved, contrary to expectations, to be just as comfortable as first, as long as we used express trains. These were, of course, all corridor trains, each compartment being adapted to hold six people. We were accompanied by restaurant cars everywhere. A foretaste of the prosperous state of Czecho-Slovakia was vouchsafed to us when, in the course of this journey, a woman official came round with a pan and duster and systematically cleaned out the carriages—a thing few of us had seen in any other country. The word " Studenten " or " Studensky " worked at the frontiers like magic. At these places railway officials would walk down the train shouting the equivalent in their language of " All out of the train." The word " Studenten," from the carriage window, produced an instantaneous effect. A hand was raised with the palm towards us and words were spoken in a tone of voice that suggested " on no account disturb yourselves or move from the carriage ; your luggage will be examined where it is." In no case were our bags subjected to any but the most cursory examination, and we were never searched.

Czecho-Slovakia, a country of 55,000 square miles, and 14,000,000 inhabitants, is one of the richest in Europe. It is, in fact, self-sufficient, and could be independent of foreign countries for everything except certain tropical products. A country of large natural resources, it contains an industrious, orderly, and, to the visitor, not very engaging people. It further enjoys the

administration of a capable Government under an honoured and revered leader.

Geographically, it is a narrow country, drawn out from east to west, and consisting of the four provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Slovakia. With five other countries touching its frontiers, it is situated in the heart of Europe astride several important lines of railway communication, such as the Berlin–Vienna, Warsaw–Trieste and Swiss–Polish lines. It possesses no outlet to the sea.

The possibilities of an agricultural and industrial state are combined here to a striking degree. The resources of coal and lignite are distributed in seven different fields, the annual yield of which in 1920 was over 11,000,000 tons of the former substance and nearly 20,000,000 of the latter. Further, about 2,000,000 metric tons of iron ore is produced annually in Slovakia and Bohemia. The country possesses naphtha wells yielding both light and heavy oils, and further researches are being prosecuted by the Government, which, if successful, will place the country in a position of independence in the matter of petroleum. Extensive salt mines existed before the war, and new ones are being explored, which will raise the annual output to 134,000 tons. The country possesses every rare and precious metal, with the exception of platinum. Before the war Bohemia produced all the Austrian gold, and also possessed considerable resources of silver, tungsten, uranium and radium, the mines of this last element, situated north of Carlsbad, being the richest in the world. Further, antimony, tin, copper and lead are produced as well as graphite, magnesite, iron pyrites, kaolin and quartz, the last supplying the well-known Bohemian glass industry.

Thus the country in point of mineral resources is well off. Her position as regards agriculture is equally good. Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia together, formed about 25 per cent. of pre-war Austria, inclusive of Croatia and Slavonia, but exclusive of Hungary, with the Batchka and Banat, yet these provinces produced 35 per cent. of the wheat, 59 per cent. of the barley, 48 per cent. of the rye, 32 per cent. of the potatoes, and 90 per cent. of the sugar, the fertility of this region being from 10 to 100 per cent. as great as that of the rest of Austria. Further 80 per cent. of the former yield of hops, half of the flax and textile fibre, and 75 per cent. of the fruit were produced in these districts. The percentage of sugar should be noted because Czecho-Slovakia was the only sugar exporting country in 1919. Bohemia and Moravia possessed about 5 and 7 per cent. respectively of their cultivated soil in the production of sugar beets. All this is exclusive of Slovakia, which represents a considerable source of increase in the national wealth. Thus, this province produces 39 per cent.

of the wheat, 35 per cent. of the barley, 87 per cent. of the maize, 32 per cent. of the potatoes, and 86 per cent. of the sheep of the whole of Czecho-Slovakia. It also contributes important crops of tobacco, flax and grapes, as well as large supplies of timber.

The country contains many flourishing industries, of which beer brewing, the production of alcoholic liquors and wines, the manufacture of textiles, porcelain and pottery, of chemicals, leather and machinery, are the most important. Seventy per cent. of the pre-war Austrian industries were situated in Czecho-Slovakia.

Since the revolution the legislation has been bold. On April 19, 1919, the National Assembly passed a law providing for the expropriation of large estates, which were held almost entirely by German nobles who received them from the Hapsburgs, in return for services rendered in the Czech revolution of 1620. The State has now acquired the right of expropriating estates the area of which exceeds 150 hectares of land, consisting of fields, gardens and meadows, and exceeding 250 hectares of country comprising pasturage and forest lands. In the whole republic over 1 million hectares of agriculturally productive lands and nearly 3½ million hectares of land of the second category have been dealt with in this way. It will be realised that it is no small feat to carry through measures of this magnitude in an orderly way at such an unsettled time as that which followed the Armistice. Finally, from the beginning, successful efforts were made to establish the finances of the country on a sound basis. Czecho-Slovakia is one of the few continental countries which can balance their annual Budgets, and the Czech krone has attained a value which has caused it to become the currency of reference of her neighbours.

The population is very mixed. Of the 14,000,000 inhabitants of Czecho-Slovakia, only 65 per cent. are Czechs and Slovaks, and 35 per cent. belong to other nationalities. There are 4,000,000 Germans, 750,000 Magyars in Slovakia, and 400,000 Ruthenians in the eastern districts, as well as other nationalities. The Slovaks living in the western and southern parts of the country, in the region bordering upon Hungary, are racially akin to the Czechs, in that they are Slavs, and speak, with small differences of vernacular, the same language, so that they understand each other without difficulty.

Yet temperamentally, the two peoples are not alike. The Slovaks are an agricultural, unprogressive race, with a low standard of literacy, and are Catholic by religious persuasion. They live in small villages imperfectly connected by railways and have developed few towns of any dimensions. They display

an inertia and fatalism akin to that of the Russians, and refer to the Czechs as the " Prussians of the Slavs." Up to the Peace they were ruled by Magyars. We did not go to Slovakia ourselves, so that it was difficult for us to form first-hand opinions upon the question of how far there existed in Slovakia a desire for autonomy and severance from Bohemia, and how far the Czech assertion that Slovakia had been tyrannised and held in subjection by the Magyars was true. The Magyars assert that the lost parts of Slovakia should be restored on the grounds that what culture existed in Slovakia sprang from Magyar sources. The Czechs maintain that there is no desire in Slovakia for a return to Hungary, since the Magyars had systematically suppressed any tendencies on the part of the subject races to develop any serious educational system of their own, or any distinctive culture, since such a growth would have been antagonistic to Magyar interests.

Be this as it may, the fact remains that, from a strictly ethnological point of view, the new frontier of Slovakia has been unfairly drawn in the South. The demarcation should be made by this criterion on an average some 30 miles further north and, in the north-west part of present Hungary, in the basins, that is, of the Nyitra and the Vag, considerably further than this. A line drawn from Ypolisag to Pozsony would cut off on the south a section of country, now part of Slovakia, containing almost exclusively Magyars. We were informed, however, that there are ten Magyar representatives in the Czecho-Slovak Parliament, and if this is true, this element in the country must at least be given a voice.

The Czecho-Slovakian Army in the war, fought, of course, on the side of our late enemies. A large number of these troops deserted, however, chiefly to the Russians who were their brother Slavs, and were formed into an army the exploits of which constitute one of the most stirring episodes of modern times. Shortly after the constitution of this army the Bolshevik revolution took place in Russia, and the new *régime* was opposed by the newly-formed force. An almost incredible exploit was then begun, a modern Anabasis, which is still waiting for its chronicler. This legion fought its way continuously from Central Russia eastwards, along the Siberian railway, across the whole continent of Asia, to Vladivostock, and after two years of exile returned about the end of 1919 to their native land. This achievement provides, of course, a magnificent tradition upon which to start a new State, which, guided by a personality who will be recognised by future generations as one of the outstanding figures of the war, has shown in every respect a remarkable resilience, vitality and creativeness.

Thomas Masaryk was the son of a coachman. In his youth

he was apprenticed to a locksmith and a blacksmith before he became a teacher in a private school. At the outbreak of the war, when his name was little known to the world, he was a professor in the University of Prague and the parliamentary chief of a small party. In 1916 he came to England in an attempt to awaken sympathy for his country, and lived for some months in Hampstead. With the Russian revolution, however, came his opportunity. Assisted by his old pupil, M. Benes the Foreign Secretary of Czecho-Slovakia, also a man of great ability, Masaryk systematically attacked French public opinion, stimulated it to an interest in his country, and then started on a long missionary tour from France through Russia to America; later he came back to France, everywhere advising, arousing sympathies, pleading for the recognition of his Government, and organising the Czecho-Slovak army, thereby making possible the remarkable exploit above described. Now he is President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, honoured by all, and regarded as the incarnation of those national qualities and traditions which, through his own handiwork, he has largely moulded and directed himself.

Czecho-Slovakia, being in such a prosperous condition, it would have been surprising to find much want among the student class. What distress there is, follows upon the hospitality of the Government which has invited no less than 2,000 penniless Russian refugee students to Prague, and has undertaken to provide them with food and lodging. Far the most serious problem was presented by housing, since Prague, having suddenly become the centre of a large increased activity, and having acquired an importance greater than almost any other Central European capital, has become the seat of a most serious overcrowding. No building had been done for seven years, and during the war student life had come to a total standstill. After the revolution the Government allotted certain rooms for students, for which there was a great demand, since at this moment educational facilities which had not existed under the Austrian *régime*, were suddenly opened to the Czechs. More students came streaming into the capital, and all the available accommodation was soon filled. The students who arrived proceeded to the first place they could find with a roof, and soon every locality was occupied. Platforms and waiting rooms of stations, warehouses, shelters, arcades, and those parts of streets sheltered by bridges were filled at nights with recumbent shivering forms.

Sooner than allow students to sleep in the streets they were invited into the Government rooms, where there was soon not a bed containing less than two people. Those who could not secure beds slept on the floor, so that in the morning beds, mattresses, blankets, sheets, etc., had to be piled up in a corner in order to

allow room to walk about. Lecture rooms were so crowded that queues of people formed outside who were unable to get in, all straining to catch a word from the lecturer.

In order to meet these trying conditions, the Czecho-Slovak students embarked upon an enterprise which compares favourably with some of the achievements of the Hungarians, namely the construction of the Letna Colony. Before the war there existed in Prague only a single hostel containing 120 students. The Letna Colony, the first innovation after this, is a large student settlement, material for which was provided by the Government, the building having been left entirely to students. It consists of nine large huts, some of which are as yet unfinished, constructed entirely of wood from the newly acquired forest lands of Czecho-Slovakia. The arrangements inside are well thought out. Each compartment has a small stove, and is adapted to either one or two students, who can live there in great comfort surrounded by a few small personal possessions. One building, reserved for girls, was perhaps the most striking, in that the front entrance, staircase and passages were painted in bold contrasting colours of blue and white, and each room had a frieze executed by various talented students of both sexes.

We were informed that the enthusiasm and *esprit de corps* manifested in the construction of this Colony were of historical magnitude. Thirteen thousand students worked upon it side by side with unemployed from the town who came and joined them, anxious to participate in this general constructive movement. In the course of strikes, workers came and helped the students without offer of remuneration, and in the face of a fairly strong opposition on the part of their unions. The Colony is now practically completed, and will go down to history as a concrete expression of the exaltation felt by the young generation of Czechs after their liberation.

Another such institution is the Studentsky Domov. This was a gift from certain American universities, chiefly of the State of Ohio, to all students in Prague regardless of race and creed. The building offers two comfortable foyers for men and girl students, where friends can be brought, a public room for lectures, cinema and music, a lending library, and workrooms where warmth and quiet can be enjoyed. Further there is a clinic, baths, laundry, and a mensa where meals are served at a minimal cost. There are no beds. Being a large congregating place for students, like a vast club, it renders possible a great centralisation which is of particular importance at Prague on account of the staggering differences of nationality which are found in this city. The existence of a stable Government, and of hopeful prospects for the future, have acted magnetically upon the most diverse peoples,

as the following table of students registered up to October 1921 at the Studensky Domov mensa will show :—

Czecho-Slovakia ...	1,943	Bulgarian	56
German	719	Jugo-Slav ...	35
Russian	72	Rumanian	34
Ruthenian	7	Jew	92
Ukrainian	342	Pole	19
Magyar	104	And even no nationality	2

Thus the Studensky Domov acts as an effective counter to a natural tendency for these various racial elements to segregate amongst themselves, and not to mix. We had two meals in the mensa situated in this building, which is run with remarkable efficiency. One walked, in a rapidly moving queue, past a series of people who equipped one with an object each : first a tray, then a plate of soup, then a plateful of meat. Further up one received potatoes, and then green vegetables. Next came knives and forks, and lastly one passed a small stall where one could buy accessories, extra. Finally one was directed to a place at an empty table. The tables were arranged in rows, and were occupied in a definite order. The amount of accommodation was calculated with some nicety, so that to go the complete round of the tables at top speed would take exactly the time that the meal provided could be eaten if the consumer wasted no time. One went through the queue and came out to a table with one's food in about 20 seconds. It was notorious at the Studensky Domov that if the soup were a few degrees too hot, the effect was signalled for a long distance all round by reason of a corresponding lengthening of the queue, since the rate of the evacuation of the tables was made slower than was compatible with the demand behind.

We lived, while in Prague, in an enormous building erected before the war by an important Trades Union. It had been handed over to Russian refugees, and was occupied when we were there by 400 of these. Each inmate lived in a very small cubicle, which was tidy and well kept, with clean bedclothes and blankets every week. It contained both men and women students, and there appeared to be no sort of restriction on anybody's movements at any time of day or night within the building. We were informed that the number of marriages celebrated annually between inmates of the Swobodarma Hostel was large. It was not surprising. The Russians in this building were exceedingly kind and hospitable, and we were glad of the opportunity of talking to these refugees, who were here, all of them victims of the Bolshevist administration.

We visited the other Russian hostels at Strasniche and Hudobenetz. The conditions in the former, a suburb of the town, were the worst we saw amongst students in Prague. The Russians here lived in a barrack and in huts, the whole colony consisting of about 265 people. Especially crowded was a theatre converted into a dormitory, in which, to save space, wooden crosses were erected at the head of each bed, not as we first supposed, with a religious significance, but merely as suitable places to hang clothes on at night. The place was clean, however, and strict sanitary measures appeared to be observed.

There exist in Prague two separate universities, a Czech and a German, functioning without any connexion with each other, and the lectures being given in different languages. The problem of the German minority is an important and difficult one. They found themselves before the war the most influential and best educated elements in the population, and most of them held privileged positions. They had separate high schools and technical colleges, the only institution in common with the Czechs being the Academy of Fine Arts. Now they find themselves in a subordinate position, and complain that in many respects they are denied their rights. One of the things which seemed most galling to them was that before the war a larger percentage of German children received a high-school education than Czech children, and since the Revolution the Government, wishing to standardise the education all over the country, has ordered a certain number of German schools to be closed down. After the Armistice there was some rioting and fighting between these two racial elements, the last outbreak having taken place in November, 1920.

The most serious problem with which Czecho-Slovakia is confronted at the moment springs from the unemployment resulting from the discrepancy between her exchange and that of her neighbours. This condition represents one of the most deplorable aspects of the plight of central Europe. Though there exists, among certain bordering States, notably Austria and Germany, a crying need for her products, she is unable to sell them, her inability to do so causing her, at the same time, acute economic distress. Many industries, notably that of glass, have had to close down, and several of the mines are standing idle. Demonstrations of unemployed in the streets are common, and we witnessed an enormous one ten minutes after our arrival at the station.

Our party came more or less unanimously to the conclusion that in view of the prosperity of the country and of the unfavourable nature of the exchange, £1 having less purchasing value in Czecho-Slovakia than in England, money forthcoming for student

relief would be more profitably spent in other countries. The Czechs themselves expressed little desire for relief, neither did they seem particularly anxious to effect a closer understanding with England. They said, in fact, that their interests were more closely associated with France than with us.

POLAND

Poland, now a country of some 80,000 square miles and 20,000,000 inhabitants, has been formed as a unity of its own only since the Armistice, from three component parts. Some 45,000 square miles with 12,000,000 inhabitants, and Warsaw as centre, was a part of Russia; some 22,500 square miles, containing 4,000,000 inhabitants, with Posen as centre, was German; and about 11,000 square miles with 5,000,000 inhabitants, centring round Cracow and Lemburg, was under Austrian rule. Of the total population, 4½ million are Jews.

Before the war there was a strong Polish nationality, but no Polish State with an independent Government. The whole of the country, including *German* Poland, shortly after the outbreak of the war was overrun by the Russian Army that invaded East Prussia. In the Autumn of 1915, the Germans launched a successful offensive which drove the Russians out of Warsaw, and took back most of the country. This was the cause of the hastily organised British attacks at Loos, the main objects of which were to relieve the pressure on Russia. From that time Warsaw and the greater part of Poland were under German rule.

The Russians, prior to their expulsion from Warsaw, removed most of the equipment of the university, and a good deal of the machinery from factories. What the Russians left, the Germans took in the last three years of the war. By November of 1918 the depletion of Poland's resources was commensurate with that of the whole of Central Europe occupied by our late enemies, and with that of the invaded parts of France. But Poland's trials did not end with the war. In August of 1920 she was attacked by the Bolsheviks, who actually reached a line nine miles from Warsaw. On the 8th of this month from the upper story windows of houses on the east of the town, in the evening, gun flashes could be seen in the distance along the lines dividing the two armies, and the sound of artillery just reached the town. On the following day, in a battle which is already considered one of the most glorious episodes of Polish history, the Bolsheviks were driven back, and Western Europe was thereby saved, the Poles claim, from the Red menace. Thus the Polish nation has as yet not had much opportunity of establishing itself on a firm basis, and the country is still in a chaotic and unsettled condition.

The Polish national character, as Von Moltke first observed, is that of an intensely imaginative and artistic people. The country is remarkably fertile in individuals of eminence and distinction, and Polish artists, sculptors and musicians rank amongst the first in the world. But the country as a whole lacks, much as an individual artist might do, the qualities of discipline, organisation and punctuality, the total absence of this last trait being specially distressing to people who have close business dealings with Poles. But at the same time they are gracious and hospitable, and, in contrast to the Czechs, have charming manners. Temperamentally, they share with the French, the possession of some of that nation's best qualities. They have a delicate intuition, a keen logical discernment, and an innate artistic taste. Their educated classes find much more in common with the French than with other races, and these two peoples on the whole understand each other very well.

The Polish outlook on international affairs is conditioned by a strong consciousness of their own insecurity and by a feeling that their point of view as a nation is not much understood. Firstly, the sense of insecurity springs from several sources. Thus their country having been occupied till four years ago by three surrounding powers, they have had little opportunity of welding together the heterogeneous elements within their new frontiers into an effective political unity. Also they are on bad terms with all their three neighbours (having fought a war against one of them two years ago), and continue to feel that two of them, at any rate, would probably invade Poland to-morrow, if they thought they had any chance of success. Lastly the population includes nearly 5,000,000 Jews (three million of whom immigrated from Russia to avoid being pogromed in that country) whom the Poles have conspicuously failed to assimilate.

An English authority on Poland, accounting for the dissension between these two elements, asserts that the Jews are mediæval in their habits ; that their aptitude for trade and their disinclination for agrarian pursuits, has caused an overweighting of the town populations, and involved a crowding out of the Polish middle class ; that they desire to obtain recognition of their Yiddish dialects in the schools ; that they are pro-German, and lastly that they have political affinities with the Bolsheviks—an elaborate arraignment. Whether these charges are true or not, the fact remains, as any visitor to Warsaw can verify for himself, that the Jews have not merged with the Polish population, and live in a quarter entirely their own, where they are objects of strong dislike. The Poles feel that here they have an enemy within their own frontiers, more insidious and more difficult to combat than their two formidable and threatening neighbours.

The Poles complain that their point of view is not understood ; that an organised conspiracy has been made against them in the Press of other countries. Resentment is felt at the way the Allies especially England, having started with a policy favouring a strong Poland, which was to be a safeguard against a too intimate Russo-German entente, then found that they had over-reached themselves somewhat in the policy of crushing Germany, and proceded to adopt an unfriendly attitude towards the Poles. Especially criticised is the attitude of our Liberal Press, which they believe to have been influenced sentimentally if not financially, by Germany in the matter of the Silesian plebiscite. They also criticise our having held up munitions at Danzig, destined for use against invading Bolshevik armies in 1920 as well as our failure to help them in their desperate financial plight. The Polish mark now stands at over 54,000 to the £. Their position certainly is precarious since, in addition to being on bad terms with their German and Russian neighbours as well as with the Baltic States, they also entertain a grievance against the Czecho-Slovaks over the Teschen plebiscite.

No general estimate seems to have been formed, as yet, of the economic condition of Poland. It would seem, however, that this country is not unfavourably situated.

In 1921 she produced 32,442,000 tons of coal, of which 24,000,000 tons came from Upper Silesia, and 7,843,000 tons from the rest of Poland. The figure for the rest of Poland during the first six months of 1922 is 4,548,000,000 tons, so that production is increasing. In 1921, she imported 3,477,000 tons from outside countries, and exported 326,000 tons. Thus at present she is capable of producing 90 per cent. of her coal requirements. Before the war, about half the industrial requirements of Russia were produced in Poland.

In 1921 there were produced 301,000 metric tons of iron ore. The iron and steel works which are built logically on the supply of ore, are very large in Upper Silesia, having produced in 1913 over 2,500,000 tons. It is doubtful, however, if they will produce this quantity again, for it was the presence of coal in Upper Silesia that led to the establishment by the Germans of numerous blast furnaces and foundries, the ore for which came largely from Lorraine, where 21 out of Germany's 28½ million tons of ore were produced before the war. The redrawing of frontiers here is one of the clearest instances of the principle of the subordination of economic considerations to ethnographical ones, and has struck a severe blow at the industrial organisation of Europe.

Poland has 22½ million acres of timber forest, and enjoys an annual exporting capacity estimated at 3,280,000 tons of timber. Further, she produced in 1921, 705,000 metric tons of crude petro-

leum from East and West Galicia. There was grown in this year 171,201 metric tons of sugar, of which 100,000 were consumed in the country, the remainder being free for exportation, and she possesses important salt mines which yielded in 1921, 302,000 metric tons of salt.

Poland is also the seat of an important textile industry which centres in Lodz, correctly pronounced (such are the eccentricities of the Polish language) "Wutch." This town is the industrial focussing point of the country, and has been called the Polish Manchester. Its population has risen since 1850 from 20,000 to 500,000. In 1913 there were in this town 1,435,000 cotton spindles in use, of which 95 per cent. were at work at the end of 1921. Before the war Lodz contained 1,120,350 wool spindles of which, at the end of 1921, 40 per cent. of the pre-war number of those producing combed wool, and 78 per cent. of those producing carded wool, were at work.

For several months this year, the production of textiles has exceeded that before the war, though exact figures are not available.

But Poland is chiefly an agricultural country. Eighty per cent. of her population work on the soil, and the harvest this year has fortunately been better than last. It would probably not be worth while to give detailed figures, but it is of interest to note that the harvest has included over 5 million tons of rye, $2\frac{3}{4}$ million tons of oats, 17 million tons of potatoes, and between 1 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ million tons of wheat, barley and sugar beets, separately. Further, on September 30th, 1921, the country contained over 2 million sheep, over 3 million horses, over 5 million pigs, and nearly 8 million cattle.

In addition to all the above, Poland has certain other mineral resources that have not yet been developed. It is, of course, impossible to estimate the value of these. It would seem, therefore, that Poland ought to be self-supporting, and it is difficult to see why the country's finances are in such a deplorable condition.

The student conditions in Poland differed from those of the other countries we saw, by reason of the variety of readjustments that had to be made when Poland became a self-governing country, and also because the majority of students had participated in the war against the Bolshevists in 1920, thus having had but a short time to settle down.

In *Russian* Poland before the war, the conditions of university training were exceedingly unfavourable to the Poles, and were designed to bring about as complete a Russification of the younger generation as possible. Thus the University of Vilna was sup-

pressed, and the Polish University of Warsaw, in 1906, was transported to Russia, and a Russian University founded in its place. Further, Poles educated in Polish schools were not allowed to enter the Warsaw University, so that if they wanted a University training at all they had to go abroad for it. If they could not afford the expense of this they had to do without one altogether.

On the other hand, at the Universities of Lemberg and Cracow in *Austrian* Poland, Poles were admitted, and there seemed to be unanimity to the effect that Austrian *régime* was, of the three, the least hated.

That of the Germans was the most hated. There exists a profound divergence between the Prussian and Polish characters. The open contempt with which the Germans treated their Polish subjects, and the attitude adopted towards the rapid increase in population among the Poles in recent years and the colonisation schemes devised by the Germans to circumvent this increase, conspired to cause Germany to be the most detested of the three partitioning powers. The Poles quoted as characteristic of the Prussian behaviour that they punished and imprisoned children for saying their prayers in Polish.

The Universities of Cracow and Warsaw differed from each other in that Cracow had never been fought over in the war. The nearest point to which the line reached was twelve miles away, so that this town had never been despoiled. Further, since the University in Cracow had always been Polish, it was faced with none of the problems that presented themselves in Warsaw, where there had been no Polish University since 1906, and where every conceivable piece of plant and machinery and apparatus that could be of the smallest use to them had been removed by the Russians in 1915. The Technical College there now is still very inadequately equipped. We were conducted through many laboratories containing nothing but rows of bare tables.

The Government in Warsaw is doing its utmost to help the cause of students. The most important student body, now still in process of organisation, is the " Bratnia Pomos," or " Brotherly Help Association." Branches of it are being formed in the provinces of Poland, and a Central Committee exists in Warsaw which will meet for the first time in a full and representative sense on November 15th. The President of the Bratnia Pomos, Mr. Konrad Krupski, to whom the student movement in Poland owes, if not its existence, at any rate a large measure of its force and success, has come to an arrangement with the Minister of education by which members of the " Société Propriétaire des Agricoles," consisting of most of the rich landowners of the agricultural districts, send regular supplies of food into the towns for students, instead of paying their taxes in cash. The Govern-

ment is also undertaking a large building scheme for the assistance of students. A sum of three or four milliards of marks was promised within the course of the next four or five years, for the purpose of erecting a large building to contain some 4,000 students, most conveniently situated in the middle of the university district of Warsaw. The "Comités Provinciaux," have aided in the raising of this sum. No fees are asked for tuition in the University of Warsaw, but on March 17th, 1921, a general vote was passed in which students declared themselves willing to subscribe a sum of money which previously they would have been asked to pay in university fees and dues, to a common fund to help in this new building. The recent fall in the exchange, however, makes it seem probable that the work will cost far more than the estimated sum.

In the whole of Poland there are nearly 36,000 students, of whom some 7,500 are girls, among whom, it is perhaps interesting to note, there is a strong tendency to specialise in scientific subjects. The hostel system for some reason does not seem to have been developed upon the same scale as in other countries. Thus in Cracow of 4,500 students 150 lived in an institution founded 30 years ago by the Warsaw Philanthropic Society, called the "Students' Home," 160 lived in the hostel in which we stayed, 100 in a barrack, and 30 in a girls' hostel, making 450 in all—less than 10 per cent. There are seven hostels in Warsaw which accommodate 1,300 of the 16,800 students there. Out of the 35,670 students in Poland, only about 2,500 lived in recognised hostels, presenting special reductions in cost, though in many cases the "Bratnia Pomos" gives special assistance. The mensa system was fully organised. The Students' Home in Cracow was the seat of an extensive mensa, where 700 students can obtain a mid-day meal and 1,000 can sup in the evenings. In Warsaw there were seven mensas, of which only five were working during our visit, which fell in vacation time. This provided meals for nearly 5,000 students at about one-tenth of the cost of an equivalent meal at a restaurant. Two of these mensas provided also breakfasts and charged for the three meals a day, Mk.300, which in our currency, was less than 3d. Three such meals could not have been obtained elsewhere for less than Mk.2,500.

A word as to the administration of the European Student Relief. Last year this body contributed Mk.50,000,000 for feeding. Since May of this year it has provided nothing for this purpose, confining itself instead to the problem of clothing, which in Warsaw is somewhat important, seeing that in winter 20° of frost is no uncommon occurrence. Supplies of potatoes, overcoats and clothes were bought from Berlin, Copenhagen and elsewhere, and were sold to the student on the following terms :—

Category (*a*) paid cost price ; category (*b*) paid two-thirds cost price ; category (*c*) (containing in Warsaw 2,500 students) one-third of cost price ; category (*d*) were given clothes free, though, of course, they received only second-hand clothes.

In the course of last year, clothes were issued to 7,200 men students and 4,200 girls. Technical books to the number of 10,000 were imported in this way free of duty, and scientific instruments are also provided by the European Student Relief. This body has also promised a fund to establish a students' co-operative society, to be run presumably on the same lines as in Hungary, and also a sum for the building of a girls' hostel. Further arrangements are made by which medical help is given free. There is another scheme run by the European Student Relief, which has been of widespread comfort to students, namely the issue of free cocoa breakfasts. A cup of hot cocoa with milk and sugar is appreciated at the beginning of a very cold day, when one is in want of food, and these were issued last winter all over Poland to the tune of 23,000 daily.

The greatest need among the student class is again to be found among the refugees of whom there are not so many in Warsaw as in Prague. In Cracow there were practically none. When we were there, Warsaw had taken in 500 Russian, and 550 Ukrainian refugees, but the Government, while granting concessions, such as permission to be examined in the Ukrainian language, was apparently not undertaking to provide for refugees as the Czecho-Slovakian Government had done. Of the 500 Russians, we were informed that only 120 could study, since the remainder were so busy earning their living that they had no time left over for intellectual work. Mr. Pedersen, a Dane, who was in charge of the European Student Relief in Warsaw, in the absence of Mr. Manry, told us that a gift of about two or three dollars (about 11s.) would enable one of these refugee students to find a mattress and a corner to sleep in, and would support him in food for just under a month.

It is only in the last 20 months that a student class has existed at all in the strict sense in Warsaw, and naturally the tuition received in many cases has been meagre. But the country, as would be expected, can easily assimilate the whole of its student class, there being a special demand for engineers and mining experts, since the resources of the country in this direction are still unexplored. The career of the student must be terminated much earlier than in this country, since military service between the age of 21 and 23 is compulsory.

The outlook for the Polish student is good, and the students as a class are, with reason and justification, hopeful about the future. It has been perhaps only in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia

that the original ideas about the objects and functions of the European Student Relief have been realised. The European Student Relief has undoubtedly helped the students of that country through the most difficult post-war period, from which the country as a whole is now emerging. It is hoped that as every month passes Poland will find herself on a securer footing, and will become more and more self-supporting as she organises her resources, gets her railways in order and establishes her central Government, and when this is realised it is hoped that the assistance of the European Student Relief will no longer be needed.

GERMANY

In Berlin we found ourselves in the capital of a country, the economic conditions of which dominated those of the other countries we had previously visited, as well as the rest of Europe. In fact, it would probably not be an exaggeration to say that Germany is the key to the whole world situation at the present moment.

The inner conditions of this country obviously depend to a very large extent upon the reparation demands which, constitute a most difficult question for anyone who is not an expert in international commerce and finance to form an opinion about. The conditions imposed on Germany by the Peace of Versailles have been subjected, since the signing of that document, to so many modifications that it would probably be a high estimate to say that at the present moment one man in 5,000 in this country has a clear idea of what Germany, according to the latest arrangement, is expected to pay. Further, by a fortunately now diminishing circle of people, the French view is still held that Germany is, as she always has been, a mine of gold and resources, which with consummate artfulness she is holding concealed from her creditors. The belief is also cherished that the population of Germany is to a man thirsting for a war of revenge ; that she is accumulating vast armaments in secret, preparatory to launching another surprise attack on France ; that she is herself engineering the depreciation of her currency in order to undersell the Allies, to aggravate their unemployment problems, and to make herself apparently incapable of paying her indemnities ; that the whole country is working furiously and enjoying in consequence an unparalleled prosperity ; that the German working classes are better off than the British ; and that all this follows from her territories and her industries having emerged intact from the war. The last conviction springs, incidentally from a somewhat restricted conception of the late war ; one, in fact, which ignores completely the whole eastern front, together with the devastation caused by Russian troops in East Prussia in 1914-1915, where 35 towns were destroyed, 44,000 buildings rendered uninhabitable, and £150,000,000 of damage done. These operations were, however, important to us since it was the alarm caused by this invasion of her Eastern frontiers that

compelled the German General Staff to transport two army corps from the Western theatre across Germany, to stem the Russian advance. It was with the aid of these two army corps that the battle of Tannenburg was won by the Germans, and it was probably through their absence that the battle of the Marne was lost, Paris saved, and the war won by the Allies.

The above general view of Germany's present condition, which is entirely orthodox in France, has been somewhat shaken by the recent collapse of the mark, since it is difficult for anyone to believe that Germany is going to gain very much by deliberately reducing her currency to the present value of that of Austria.

I shall attempt a brief comparison of Germany's present resources with those available to her before the war, and shall make a short summary of the reparations negotiations. It is impossible to understand the conditions of any class in Germany, the student class included, without this as a background.

Before the war Germany was a country of 203,834 square miles, and contained some 67,000,000 of population. Germany entered late into the scramble for colonies. Her first attempt in this direction was made in 1884, her leaders up till that time having been averse to committing themselves to the large expenditures of money that were necessitated by any colonial enterprise. It was only the realisation of the importance of raw materials, supplied in such abundance from tropical and sub-tropical countries to her magically expanding industries, which induced her to change her mind. She then gained four island colonies in the Pacific, which were of no very great moment, a settlement in China, and four African colonies which were important, namely Togoland, the Cameroons, German South-west Africa and German East Africa. These amounted to an area of about 1,000,000 square miles, and contained a population of about 12,000,000. They supplied Germany's demand for about one-quarter of her rubber, besides valuable oils and fibres.

Germany has lost all these colonies. Her European territory has been deprived of some 25,000 square miles, including 35,000 miles of railways, by which her present area is reduced to 179,000 square miles, and her population to 57,000,000, including a further loss of 2,000,000 soldiers killed in the war. She has lost not only the raw materials forthcoming from her colonies, but also her means of transporting them. Her merchant marine, consisting of some 4 million tons of shipping has been taken away, and there has also been imposed upon her the obligation of building a further million tons of shipping in the course of the next five years to compensate for what she sank in the war. Under the Armistice conditions, and in the ceded territories, she handed over 6,316 locomotives, 10,692 passenger waggons, and 137,840

goods waggons ; also 400,000 sheep, cattle and horses, and 130,000 agricultural implements from pitch forks to steam ploughs. By May 1921 she had ceded 14,000 tons of dye stuffs and 22,000,000 tons of coal, coke and its derivitives. Further, the greater part of her working capital abroad has been expropriated.

It is probably true to say that Germany's pre-war greatness and industrial prosperity was built upon her coal and iron resources far more closely than upon militarism and the sword. In 1913 Germany produced 191,500,000 tons of coal. As a result of the Peace, she lost 3,800,000 from Alsace and Lorraine, 43,800,000 from Silesia, and 13,200,000 from the Saar basin, which contains a compact and homogeneous population, and is to be in the hands of the League of Nations for 15 years, after which Germany may, if she wishes (and can) repurchase the mines from France. These losses in coal amount to 60,800,000 tons—a little less than one-third of her pre-war resources. Out of 130,000,000 tons that theoretically remain to her (no allowance has been made for decreased efficiency and activity of work), she has to pay annually substantial quantities to France.

In Alsace-Lorraine, Germany loses 75 per cent. of her iron ore mines. This is the most significant figure of all.

In addition to these material losses it must be realised that in the course of four years of war the German people were in large numbers subjected to a condition bordering on starvation, and that the abdication and flight of the Kaiser, together with the attrition and defeat of their armies in the field, induced in them a condition of peculiar mental instability, the full scope of which cannot easily be grasped by English people unacquainted with pre-war Germany. Their outlook was revolutionised in a manner that would not be possible in this country *whatever* social upheaval took place.

The charge is frequently brought against Germany that she does not admit having suffered defeat in the war. The assertion follows from the predicament in which the German higher command found themselves after the Armistice. Discipline in the German Army had suffered severely in the last fortnight of the war. A number of German regiments went Spartacist, wore red cockades in their button holes, and refused to obey their officers. There was the gravest danger of the whole army breaking up, as the Russian Army had done a year before. It was of the highest importance to Germany that an orderly evacuation of Belgium and Northern France should be conducted, and what other method was there to secure this, than to make the most of the fact that the war had not ended in a colossal Sedan (at best a poor consolation), and to issue a general proclamation that " the German Army must return home with heads high, and with unsullied honour ? '

The underlying meaning of this appeal was not missed by anyone in contact with the enemy during the last month of the war, though it was held up as a proof of German impenitence by the more bombastic elements in our Press.

These overwhelming changes in her national life brought Germany face to face with the prospect of a revolution following the Russian precedent, and it is in my opinion a most remarkable proof of the fundamental liberality of temperament of the German people, that the country has passed through these staggering changes with such orderliness and calm. There were those in England who prophesied that the revolution in Germany would be followed by a blood-shed and butchery which would make the French revolution pale. This belief was, in fact, fairly prevalent, and sprang from a view of the character of the German people, orthodox in the war, but none the less entirely erroneous.

None will dispute that this was a difficult period for Germany. At the end of it, the productiveness of the country and the industry of the workers would not be at their highest point. In the face of these facts and considerations, it is difficult to understand how anyone can argue that Germany has profited out of the war.

In addition to the Armistice conditions above outlined, the reparations further imposed on Germany do not let her off easily. They have been subjected to a bewildering amount of chopping and changing, which together with the magnitude of the sums involved, have succeeded in boring and confusing most people in this country, and in increasing the general hopelessness and despair in Germany. Many reproaches have been levelled at the Germans during and since the war. There is one, however, which has not been heard, namely that they are a wayward and lazy people. Were this one of their national weaknesses, it might be comprehensible that they should have depreciated their currency to save themselves having to work. If the ruling classes have resorted to this measure, which is, of course, one of unparalleled ruthlessness and brutality towards their middle and lower classes, they have done so as the result of a short-sighted policy on the part of the Allies, who could not see far enough to turn to their advantage the unquestioned perseverance and industriousness of the German worker by giving the country as a whole terms within the possibility of fulfilment. The following is a brief resumé of the reparations negotiations :—

November 11th, 1918.

At the Armistice Germany undertook responsibility for all damage to the civilian populations of the Allies, and of their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air.

January 25th, 1919.

At the Peace Conference an annexe was added making Germany responsible for Separation Allowances, a claim that about doubled all the other liabilities put together. No reparations total was fixed, but it was resolved to present Germany with such a total by May 1st, 1921.

July 19th, 1920.

At Spa the Allies decided upon the ratio by which the reparations should be divided amongst themselves—France to take 52 per cent., the British Empire 22 per cent., Italy 10 per cent., Belgium 8 per cent., and all the other Allies between them 8 per cent. Out of the theoretically remaining 130 million tons of coal produced annually by Germany, she has to pay 2,000,000 monthly from August 1st.

January 29th, 1921.

At Paris, the following annual programme of payments was drawn up.

May	1921	to	April	1923,	100	mill.	£	sterling	(2 billion	gold mk.)
,,	1923	,,		1926,	150	,,	,,		(3 ,,	,,)
,,	1926	,,		1929,	200	,,	,,		(4 ,,	,,)
,,	1929	,,		1932,	250	,,	,,		(5 ,,	,,)
,,	1932	,,		1963,	300	,,	,,		(6 ,,	,,)

Also from 1921 to 1963 she must pay 12 per cent. of the value of her exports. No fixed sum was determined. Thus Germany was confronted with conditions of economic slavery, increasing in magnitude for more than 40 years.

April 30th, 1921.

The total German liabilities were fixed at six thousand five hundred million pounds (132 milliard gold marks).

This was a very significant and important decision which still holds. The question arose how Germany was to pay this sum—a difficult question. The method has been much modified in the course of the last two years, as Germany's inability to pay it has become more and more apparent. The remaining negotiations do not affect the total. They concerned merely the method of payment of the first two annual instalments. The first scheme was made on

May 5th, 1921, *from London*,

Germany to pay £100 millions annually, plus 26 per cent. of her exports.

October 6th, 1921.

At Wiesbaden, an important agreement was reached between M. Rathenau and M. Loucheur, by which Germany may pay annually £50 million in kind. This general principle of payment in kind has since been much developed.

By *November 15th*, 1921, Germany had paid £50 million in gold, and £12½ million which represented 26 per cent. of her exports for May, June and July.

December 14th, 1921.

Germans announce that they cannot pay their next instalment of £25 millions, or the 26 per cent. of exports due on February 15th.

January 6th to January 13th, 1922.

At Cannes, the proposal of May 5th was altered. Germany to pay annually £36 million in gold, and £72 million in kind. This cancels the grotesque programme of January 29th, 1921.

January 13th, 1922.

Germany has to pay her £36 million in £1½ million instalments every ten days.

By *March 21st*, 1922 Germany had paid £14 million out of the £36 millions for this year, leaving £22 millions more to be paid. This to be delivered in nine instalments of increasing magnitude. Previous arrangement for payment in kind to hold.

April 7th, 1922.

Germany says that as she cannot pay remaining £22 millions, this balance must either be reduced, or made up by an increased payment in kind.

By *July 15th*, 1922, out of the outstanding £22 million to be paid by January 1923, Germany should have paid in instalments £8½ millions, and £2½ millions in kind. Actually she had paid a little more that £7½ millions in gold, and £1 million in kind. She asks for a moratorium, and her exchange begins to collapse.

The Germans estimate that their cessions from the Armistice to April 30th, 1921 (the date of the fixing of the reparations total) had a value of £1,865 millions. It is exceedingly doubtful whether they will be credited with this sum by the Reparations Commission. In fact, it is practically certain that they will not.

Between May 1st, 1921 and July 31st, 1922, that is to say in 14 months, Germany has paid, in cash and kind, £134 million; a fairly substantial sum which should be compared with the £200 million paid in two years by France to Germany after the Franco-

Prussian war, from which the economic conditions, industries and exchange of France suffered comparatively little. Adding these sums together, Germany could be considered to have paid —an estimate almost certainly greatly above the truth—just under £2,000 million. This leaves her with a minimum of still £4,500 million to pay.

Such is the prospect which confronts a nation stripped of its colonies, merchant marine, one-third of its coal, three-quarters of its iron, and now possessing a currency the unit of which is rapidly plunging down to complete worthlessness. It is hardly to be wondered at that the outlook is not hopeful.

It is frequently asserted in England, and current belief in a wide circle in France, that Germany is capable, by utilising a large secret stock of ammunition and guns, of launching a strong attack on France. This conviction effectively justifies the most extreme measures against Germany. But what, in point of fact, is the military position of Germany to-day ?

Before the war she had a standing army of 800,000 men and a wonderfully efficient system of mobilisation by which, in two or three days, every physically sound man in the country would be playing a carefully pre-arranged part in a national army of about 5,000,000. Before the war the officers were the picked men of the country. A man was socially negligible if not in the army. The fashionable streets of every town glittered with uniforms, the expensive theatres and restaurants were full of them, and the country lived in an atmosphere of perpetual saluting.

Now there is no flying corps, no artillery, and no staff college. The pre-war officers have all left the army, and the existing force, which has been reduced to 100,000, is officered by the middle classes.

The mobilisation scheme before the war was worked in three stages : the first, " danger threatens " ; the second, " man the frontiers," with reserve standing ready ; the third, " general mobilisation." At each phase every man in the country knew exactly what he had to do. Now, supposing war were declared, no one in the country would have the least idea where to go or what to do. There is no organisation for mobilisation whatever. It is doubtful if there is a country in the world, with the exception of Austria, in a more defenceless position.

A month ago, there was very little unemployment in Germany ; all classes were working, and production was at its height. But it was not the activity of a prosperous and healthy country. The activity resembled rather the struggles of a man slowly sinking in a quick-sand. The whole country produced the strange impression of an organised foundering, as of a ship, in which

order prevails and all hands are working with desperation at the pumps. The activity is the activity of a fevered body just before collapse. The country is on the verge of an unemployment crisis that will differ from the unemployment of other countries of high exchange, like Czecho-Slovakia, which cannot sell their products and have been compelled to close down some of their industries. The trouble under these circumstances is of slow growth. In Germany the unemployment will come suddenly when, by reason of the plunging exchange, she will from one day to another find herself unable to buy raw materials. The difference between the two kinds of unemployment is important, and will be characterised chiefly by the suddenness with which the second kind will break out.

It is commonly believed that the German working man is earning much money, and is in as good or better position than before the war. It is true to say that the German worker is in a better position than the salaried Government official or the middle class (to which most of the students belong), whose position is the worst in the community. The working man is more favoured, because his class is organised, and can have recourse to strikes, but even so, he is now much worse off than before the war, as the following key figures will show:

The general cost of living involving rents, clothes, food, transport, etc., has gone up 250 times; a workman's wages (here the average is taken between the skilled and unskilled) have gone up 90 times. That is to say, it is nearly three times more difficult for him than it was before to make ends meet.

About the beginning of September, a rise of some 300 marks was made on a seven hours' day, and a rise of some 1,800 marks a week; the weekly average ranged between 3,500 and 4,000 marks. It is now practically impossible for the working classes to buy anything else than food. No furniture, clothes, boots, books or accessories of any sort are any longer within their means. If a worker before the war saved two weeks' wages he could buy with them a suit of clothes. Now the same suit would cost him from six to ten weeks' wages. He used to be able to buy 1 cwt. of potatoes with three hours' wages; now he could not do this under six or eight hours' wages. He used to be able to buy a pair of boots with two days' wages; such a pair would now cost five to six days' wages.

The chief change in the relation of worker and employer caused by the revolution has been the institution of what are called "wage contracts." The wage, or tariff, contracts existed before the war only in a printers' union and in certain iron and wood industries. They became universal throughout Germany in November 1918, when the danger of an outbreak of complete

anarchy became acute. They were then opposed by political sections of the extreme left, that is to say, the Communists and Sparticists, but were supported by the Social Democrats. By these contracts, it is provided that questions such as the length of working hours, holidays, form of payment, etc., are discussed by a mixed commission representing employers and workers, whose decisions are nearly always accepted.

There exists a strong desire for education among German workmen; there are schools for shop stewards in most large towns, there are working men's academies at Frankfurt, Dusseldorf and Berlin, there are schools giving training in economics at Halle and Munster, and many of the universities give courses in trades union matters. The system of the extension school is also much favoured by the unions, many of which, we were informed, would help to subsidise them if they could.

There has been established an interesting form of reciprocity between the workers and students in certain centres. The workers tend to oppose the students, on the ground that the most reactionary elements in the country are found in this class, which was, for the most part, too young to participate in the war, and did not have experience of its unpleasantness. At the same time the workmen are not opposed to students doing manual work with them as long as they conform to the rules of the trades unions. In return for the advantage of employment and remuneration afforded in this way, the students in many centres have opened facilities for workmen to attend lectures and courses got up under the auspices of the university. Further, there were certain important positions before the war in industries and businesses which could only be held by men with university training. These reservations have now been abolished.

A valuable summary of other conditions in Berlin was given to us by the Minister of Health. A comparison of pre-war with present records was made in certain schools situated in a suburb of Berlin (not the poorest) by a board whose function was to advise children about their future careers. Everywhere a general sinking of level is apparent. In one such school, out of 607 children, 360 at the age of 14 were incapable of undertaking work of anything like an exacting nature; work, that is, which would satisfy a labour exchange. This should be compared with the pre-war returns, which showed 8 per cent. incapable of undertaking such work. The weights of a number of boys and girls of 14 were taken, and were found to be, for the former, 35 kilos, and the latter 31 kilos. That is from 10lbs. to 14lbs. less than pre-war.

The Berlin Statistical Office issues weekly a minimum price list upon which families of various dimensions could be expected to live and maintain health. They also produce a ratio of minimum

subsistence levels for children of different ages conceived on a family basis.

The unit is taken for an adult working man.

If he receives food equivalent to ...	1
his wife should receive	.8
children of 1 to 4 years	.1
4 to 7 ,, ...	.2
7 to 10 ,, ...	.3
10 to 13 ,, ...	.4
13 to 15 ,, ...	.5

Out of 1,367 children in two schools, 95 received less than lowest subsistence minimum according to this schedule. In another suburb 69 per cent. of the children were receiving *under* 80 *per cent.* of this minimum ; a serious degree of under-nourishment. In another district some 10,000 children were examined. Of these 4,761 were found, within widely prescribed limits, normal ; 3,284 showed signs of deficient nourishment, but were not suffering from any actual disease ; and 2,472 were suffering from some definite disease. No general figures are available for the whole of Germany, but the above are typical and representative of the conditions in the larger towns.

The following is a comparison of pre-war with present weekly rations given to patients in a Berlin hospital :—

	Meat.	Fat.	Milk.	Bread.
1913	5lbs.	1½lbs.	1½ litres	7lbs.
1921	2lbs.	1lb.	½ litre of inferior quality.	5lbs.

Before the war 50 per cent. of the bread was white bread. This is given now only on special medical authority. The supply of potatoes is the same now as before the war, but the quality is less good and the transport uncertain. Poultry, game and sugar are out of the question, and eggs are only given in exceptional cases. The following are the figures for the hospital for incurables:

	Meat.	Fat.	Milk.	Bread.
1913 ...	1,500 grams	½lb.	2 to 3 litres	6 to 8lbs.
1921 ...	800 grams	1lb.	none	5lbs.

A larger quantity of fat is given to compensate for the serious meat shortage.

Before the war each bed in this hospital had four changes of sheets and washing ; now there exists only one change. Previously the average length of stay was 25 days, now it is 32 days.

In the children's hospital where, before the war 2,000 calories of food was given daily, now only 1,100 is available, and hospitals

are now forced to reject people whom before the war they would have been compelled by law to take in.

The number of helpless old people received as incurable has augmented, and of course the number of cases of tuberculosis has enormously increased.

Before the war a falling off in weight was the recognised symptom of under-nourishment. But now that the food shortage is so much more acute than at any time within recent experience, the height is also affected so that the rising generation in Germany is growing up undersized. Further, the production of food, per hectare has diminished from 10 to 25 per cent. owing to lack of manure, and the greater part of the plant and machinery in Germany has decreased in value in the same general way as it did in England in the year following the war. Both these circumstances are significant in that the average population per square kilometre has gone up since the war from 120 to 128 owing to immigration from the lost provinces. The necessary importation of food has risen from 20 per cent. to 35 per cent. of the population.

When we were in Berlin the exchange was a little over 6,000 marks to the £. The taxation was at that time in accordance with the following ratio :—

Incomes under 24,000 marks a year (£4) were exempt. Exemption could be extended to incomes of 40,000 marks if there were children.

100,000 marks taxed 10 per cent.
200,000 marks taxed 15 per cent.
up to 1,000,000 marks (under £170 then) taxed 60 per cent.

The value of the currency has since gone down to a third of what it was then. Direct taxation is imposed by the Realm, and indirect taxation is applied locally.

A comparison of the September 1922 with the pre-war cost of coal is instructive.

	100 briquets.	Wood per cub. metre.	1 centner of coke.
1914	80 pfenigs	15 to 20 marks	1 mark
Sept. 1922	250 marks	3,500 to 3,800 marks	450 marks

1 centner = 100lbs.

Central heating in any but the fashionable hotels can no longer be carried out. Further, the German miner, being a slow worker, produces as a result of the 8-hour day, and of under-nourishment, from 60 to 75 per cent. of his pre-war quantity.

We had an opportunity of cross-examining a German ex-officer on the question of German atrocities, and we heard the German point of view of these. I have not had the opportunity of corro-

borating the statements made below, but I give them for what they are worth. As they stand they are interesting as shewing what is the point of view of the other side :—

Louvain was burned, we were informed, in retaliation for the murder, by a group of Belgian students, of a whole German divisional staff. These were dining in a room in a hotel, when suddenly the room was invaded by these students, accompanied also by women, who shot every officer at the table with revolvers. An order was issued that a section of the town be burnt, but the fire got out of hand, and among other places the library was destroyed. With regard to the sinking of hospital ships, it was asserted that the Germans had communicated to us the limits of a zone in the Channel between which no hospital ship would be sunk. Any ship travelling outside this zone would be sunk at sight if it was caught. If this is true the zone may of course have been situated in a very inconvenient part of the Channel and may have involved a long sea passage which at all costs had to be avoided for badly wounded men. With regard to the treatment of prisoners it was stated that the conditions in the whole of Germany at the end of the war were very bad, and that prisoners could not be given better treatment than German nationals. Abuses by individual prison camp commanders were the exception and not the rule, and further the average rate of mortality for German prisoners in French prison camps was said to be greater than for Allied troops in German camps by about .8 per cent. The use of poison gas was justified in the German press on the grounds that the French had used gas shells first. (This is certainly quite untrue, since had this been done we would have been prepared for retaliation and our men would have been equipped with respirators as soon as the practice was begun. As it was, the best safeguard available the first time the Germans used gas, was a pocket handkerchief soaked in a water-logged shell hole.)

In Berlin we went to see a Revue. In most theatres foreigners are charged twice or three times as much as Germans, all of whom carry a certified identity card on them, without which they cannot obtain tickets at the reduced prices. This revue was written almost entirely for the delectation of foreigners. A large number of the jokes were in English and French, and a man sang with rather an unsuccessful American nasal accent " My Home in Dixieland." The tendency was to make light of the rise of prices. There were jokes about the exchange, good-natured thrusts at foreigners, and a lot about war profiteers. There was one scene called the " International Jazz Band," which caused much amusement. Each member of the band was dressed in the costume of an European country. Germany, a

girl in a peasant garb, sat in a corner patiently with hands folded. Lloyd George conducted. As soon as he began Poincaré, dressed as a French soldier, got up, shouting and gesticulating. Poland pushed him on from behind and applauded. Mazaric began to beat a colossal drum with increasing loudness, finally sitting on it and banging both sides alternately from above. The Italian threw himself into dramatic postures and declaimed without anyone else paying the slightest attention. Germany looked on quietly while the pandemonium culminated by there appearing an American cinematograph operator. Instantly the din ceased, a seraphic smile appeared on the faces of all, and the whole group took hands and posed while the wheel was turned.

A noticeable feature of the whole production was the way the chorus girls walked on to the stage little short of stark naked. None of us had ever seen anything like it before.

There are some 120,000 students in Germany (including 6,000 refugees) in some 40 universities and high schools scattered about the country. Of this number 60,000 are definitely in want and are absolutely compelled to work in order to make ends meet. The German Government can look after about 40,000, who need no outside assistance. The remaining 20,000 would find their position made much easier if they were enabled to have half their meals at reduced prices. The total number is larger than normal by reason of the refugees and the number of post-war students who have been delayed in taking their degrees by having to work.

There is probably no other country where student self-help is carried on more efficiently than in Germany. The organisation is necessarily less centralised than in Hungary, and the methods of coping with conditions are more varied, but every penny of money sent into Germany is utilised to its fullest capacity.

We were given as a typical provincial university that of Tubingen in Wurtemberg, containing some 3,000 students. By raising funds locally, and by exacting contributions from each undergraduate according to his means a large self-help association was founded. A hotel was rented in which reading and writing rooms were established, and where facilities were created for feeding first 800 of the poorer students. The number soon rose to 1,200, necessitating an extension of premises, and now stands at 1,800. The Committee is largely successful in obtaining food at much reduced prices from neighbouring farmers and land proprietors. A kitchen garden has been bought supplying the mensa with vegetables, and looked after entirely by undergraduates. There is a university labour exchange where students can be helped to secure "Neben-arbeit," or evening work during term time, and "Ferien-arbeit," or holiday work during the vacation. Courses are run to teach book-keeping and typewriting, and there is a

university printing press and book-binding establishment, conducted under a trained book-binder, which produces books for use in the university and also earns money for the self-help association by doing outside work. Washing and clothes repairs are done by girl students ; there is a student shoe repair shop, where the repairs are done by girl students, under the supervision of three professional shoemakers. Thus the members of this university have made themselves very nearly self-supporting by their own labour, and are looked upon favourably by the Wurtemberg State.

An interesting and little realised fact regarding the food shortage is that when a person has accustomed himself to a diet consisting of a cup of black coffee with a slice of black bread in the morning, of potato soup at mid-day, and of some similar starchy meal in the evening, and has partaken of this regimen for a sufficiently long time, changes take place in his digestive apparatus which incapacitate him from eating a square meal. This was convincingly demonstrated to us one night when, after going to the opera, we proceeded to a restaurant for supper, asking a German student to come with us.

A by no means ample meal was ordered, consisting, I think, of soup, some cold chicken and salad, and a pudding of some sort. The German student drank the soup, he helped himself to a very small piece of chicken, and refused the pudding altogether. We were surprised at this display of abstinence, which we were far from manifesting ourselves, and, thinking that he had refused out of delicacy, we urged him to help himself more freely and make the most of the opportunity of having a good meal. He could not be persuaded. With a look of acute distress on his face, he said he dared not eat as we did since he was unaccustomed to food of this kind, and would suffer from a violent indigestion for two or three days afterwards. He thanked us and said he would like to eat the dinner, but did not dare.

We were shown, in Berlin, a chart, a copy of which I have been unable to obtain, illustrating the relation between three things : the depreciation of the mark as against the dollar, the rise in the cost of living, and the rise in wages of a salaried official in the last year. The depreciation curve was jerky and irregular ; it made a steep ascent in July and September, expressing the collapse of the mark in these months. The curve representing the rise in the cost of living was of exactly the same general contour as the depreciation curve, but without its irregularities. The curve illustrating wages was of a very different shape. Altogether, it was more like a straight line, starting in June, close to the other two curves, but diverging completely from them on the right of the chart, and lacking the same sharp

ascent. This divergence spoke eloquently of the miseries which these classes have experienced.

The recent rise has seriously affected all the students in Germany. It is obvious that the bulk of students can only do unskilled work. About 10,000, for instance, work on the land. An actual student whose earnings represent the average, made in August, Mk.6,650; in September he made Mk.9,500; and in the first half of October—that part of the month free for students—he made Mk.5,700, or a total of Mk.21,850, from which must be subtracted his holiday expenses.

When we were in Germany, it was estimated that the cost of living during the coming term would be at least Mk.5,000 a month. As the coming semestre lasts five months, this will involve for the student an expenditure of Mk.25,000, provided the exchange had remained stable. Under the present circumstances the expenses will probably have been doubled.

Actually, Germany is now in a position to absorb all her students with the exception of lawyers, philosophers and teachers, and a percentage of doctors and chemists, but there is great hope of being able in the future to penetrate into Russia and South America. It should be realised what an enormous comfort to these students is the presence of the European Student Relief; when everything else is crumbling this body remains firm and stable as a rock, the embodiment to them of the idea that their plight is not forgotten by us.

THE EUROPEAN STUDENT RELIEF

The European Student Relief was founded in August 1920 by a unanimous decision of representatives of 39 nations, gathered together in a general committee at Beatenberg, in Switzerland.

Since this date no less than £264,000 have been raised, mainly by students' efforts, and have been disposed of by the European Student Relief. Of this sum a strikingly large percentage in proportion to the 60,000 students, has been subscribed by Great Britain. In fact, the average contribution per head per student has been greater in this country than in any other.

Relief has been carried out in 135 Universities and Higher Colleges in 12 countries, which I shall refrain from enumerating. Over 5 million meals have been served by the European Student Relief, and over 700 tons of food have been distributed by it. Also 130,000 garments of various descriptions have been shipped to countries in need.

One of the most noteworthy feats of this body was the organisation of a Students' Conference at Turnov, in Czecho-Slovakia, in April of this year. Eighty-eight delegates, representing 29 countries, appeared. Perhaps the most remarkable feature was that no programme was prepared in advance, and that the whole scheme did not end in complete chaos in consequence.

Conceive of the scene. In a railway station of quite a small town in Bohemia, a train pulls up. It disgorges students of 29 nationalities and their baggage, no one knowing anyone else, and all eyeing each other with suspicion and hostility. Neither was it merely with the hostility normally inspired by strangers and foreigners, but also with that inspired by the fact that the countries of about half the delegation had fought against the countries of the other half in the war, and had afterwards been victimised by them in the Peace !

The tension was diverted into other channels by the immediate imposition of an Athletic Tyranny. Before they knew where they were, the members of this heterogeneous assemblage were divided into two moieties called the " Greens " and the " Blues " respec-

tively, and were marched off from the station in these formations, which henceforth became Athletic rivals. The explosive energies of the various delegates were then innocently diverted by making them yell themselves hoarse in support of their teams on the football field or sports ground—an excellent practical example of the important psycho-therapeutic principle of Sublimation.

The Conference lasted five days, in the course of which sixteen plenary sessions were held. Also six committees were formed to discuss the following subjects: Student Relief Organisation, finances and methods of raising money, provision for students' needs, self-help, Russia and refugee students, and lastly the International Student Organisation and outlook. At the first few of the sixteen sessions were heard reports on student conditions in various countries; at the last ones, the proceedings of the various committees were discussed.

The Conference was a success. Everyone is most emphatic on this. The success rested, however, more on the achievement of successfully piloting such immiscible elements through five days of close contact and intimate intercourse, and by reason of the various delegates having learnt something about the conditions of other countries, than through the emergence of any particularly novel suggestions or fresh schemes.

There was nothing compulsory about the reports of the Committees. They were merely "suggestive." Some of them, in their discussions, overlapped. The first emphasised the importance of centralising all student organisations in each country, of developing self help in all its forms, and of exercising care in the distribution of European Student Relief money to individuals for relief. The second, perhaps the most productive of the Commission, recommended measures for the obtaining of money that fell into two categories: (1) Entertainments and demonstrations such as lectures, concerts, dances, athletic contests, flower days, folk-song singing, art exhibitions, bazaars, lotteries and self-help-denial plans. (2) Solicitation of: industrial magnates and business firms, clergy, press, tourists, agricultural societies and Governments. The third commission, also a good one, suggested founding a Central Clearing House for the exchange of information and ideas relative to the supply of students' needs. Thus one country might find herself with a surplus of supplies needed in other countries. The exchange would be effected through the Clearing House. Exchanges of barrack and housing plans were suggested.

The fourth commission, whose minutes read as if it had been more fertile that the previous two, recommended manual labour, the foundation of employment bureaux, the exchange of student employment experiences, and of co-operation. It advised that

funds be devoted to the promotion of self-help rather than for individual student relief. The fifth commission, on Russia, must have felt hampered by the prohibition to discuss political questions. Its recommendations amounted to little more than that Russian students and refugees in general be helped.

The sixth commission advocated nothing more startling than that the European Student Relief work be continued and expanded. Reference was made to the Confederation International des Etudiants (called the C.I.E. for short), which appears to be a French Institution, which has not officially admitted countries antipathetic to France.

A few delegates on the sixth commission also objected, for some reason, to advocating "World Peace and Brotherhood." The proceedings of this commission were discussed somewhat heatedly in the Sixteenth Plenary Session, when it was decided to substitute the phrase "International responsibilities" for the formula "World Peace and Brotherhood." This satisfied everyone, and the German delegation was placated.

As far as can be made out from the minutes published, the only practical proposals made were those of suggesting an exchange of goods between countries—a kind of barter—a World's Student Friendship Week, and an issue of Student Friendship coins, an International Student loan, and the International Clearing House advanced by the second commission. None appear to have materialised.

Rather surprisingly, there does not seem to have been any meeting of representatives of countries in a position to give help, in order to discuss means of evoking interest in, sympathy with, and help for students of countries in need. Members of such countries would have profited more, one might have thought, by doing this, than by listening to controversies on methods of self-help, to which the countries the speakers belonged to never expected to have to resort .

In any case, the Turnov Conference stands to the credit of the European Student Relief just as much as does the material assistance, in its varied forms, which it has given, and which we can help it to give. Its headquarters are in Geneva, through which all money, stores and food pass, and where the mode of distribution is decided upon. The headquarters in England are in "General Buildings, Aldwych, London, W.2," where all the organising and collecting for this country is done by a most capable secretary.

Nearly everywhere we went on the continent we came across a feeling among students that has not yet penetrated much into this country. The feeling can, perhaps, best be described as "generation consciousness." It is felt that in the last 100 years

nations have been brought together in a material sense by the perfection of the means of communication and transport. It is unnecessary to elaborate this. The railway, telephone, telegraph, air service, and the growth of international trade, have caused nations to become dependent on each other in a way that could not take place in former times. Yet this specialisation in production, and this economic interdependence between countries, has not been accompanied by a corresponding growth in sympathy and understanding. Conceived in a very wide sense, it is perhaps from the lack of such a corresponding growth that the war sprang.

The post-war generation of undergraduates in the continental universities are conscious of this fact. One of the surest ways of avoiding wars in the future—it might even be true to say the only way—is for countries to take a keener interest in each other. A definite effort must be made to see things from the other countries' point of view, and to understand their hopes, fears, hatreds, aspirations and general material conditions. There is a school of thought nowadays that tends to attribute every evil in the world to the dulness and unimaginativeness of the older generation. It is probable that this school at times goes a little far. This much, however, remains true, that, unless we are on our guard we all tend to imbibe without realising it the point of view of our parents and elders, in which point of view they grew up, and which is largely based upon an outlook that might have been justified before the war, but which now is totally obsolete. There is no doubt of the general tendency for new bonds to be established on business and commercial lines between countries through the impetus of the acquisitive instinct, which is at the back of all trade, welding them together and giving them common interests, while the general attitude of mind towards other countries remains what it was before.

This is what the post-war generation must realise. It is in a sense far more important for the welfare of the world that we travel to other countries and make up our minds about them ourselves, first hand, and learn about their actual conditions now, than that we learn Greek irregular verbs or the differential calculus, or the exact condition of other countries 500 years ago. The new point of view is not one which will be incorporated very quickly into any academic curriculum or university schedule. It must be learned by the undergraduates on their own.

An attempt is now being made to create facilities for undergraduates to travel abroad. Though students from the English Universities do travel more on the continent than before the war, yet a large number of them still are deterred by lack of enterprise. The undergraduate feels that the passport system is a barrier,

that ignorance of foreign languages is an insuperable obstacle, that there is no other means of securing accommodation in capitals than that of looking up the hotels starred in Baedeker, which have become exclusively adapted to the exploitation of foreigners. In order to meet these difficulties, it is proposed to enlarge the scope of the European Student Relief. An effort will be made to secure a hostel in a fairly central part of each capital which will be available for undergraduates during the vacations, and which will provide beds at very considerably cheaper rates than the hotels. Any undergraduate wishing to visit a continental university town at any time in vacation then need only send a postcard to the European Student Relief secretary, asking him to reserve a bed between the desired dates, and then proceed to the town in question. When he arrived there he would go to the European Student Relief Headquarters, and see the secretary, or his representative, who, in addition to having found him a bed, would be in a position to offer him very helpful advice about where to have his meals, what museums to see, what trips outside the town to make, what theatres to go to, how much to tip the waiters, how much to pay taxis, etc., all of which information is invariably most welcome to the stranger, and through the lack of which many undergraduates often find themselves badly held up.

There is a tendency far more prevalent than is generally supposed for visitors to a country with a low exchange to form their opinion of the conditions of the country on what they see in the fashionable streets, in the expensive shops, and in the places of amusement. Such visitors usually overlook the fact stressed earlier in this pamphlet that when the exchange is falling the one fatal thing to do is to economise and save. Everyone, as soon as he obtains any money, spends it at once. A man finds himself in possession of a sum which will secure him a seat at a theatre, entrance to cinema, or a glass of beer, as the case may be. He spends it on the spot, since on the following day or the next week the price of all these things may have doubled, and may have soared above his reach.

The visitor tends to mistake the amount of buying and selling he sees going on in shops, and the crowds in the places of amusement for signs of prosperity and business activity. In reality, they are morbid symptoms of a hectic condition of national fever, and premonitory of collapse. The European Student Relief secretary would be in a position to counteract such impressions. He could supply the undergraduate with literature informing him of the true conditions of the country, and, if the undergraduate wished, he could arrange for him to meet at convenient times persons qualified to speak with authority whom he could personally

question and converse with. The undergraduate, in this way, if he were keen, could learn a surprising lot in a week about the country, and could collect much interesting information. If this scheme materialises, a brief list, giving names and addresses of European Student Relief secretaries, will be sent round to universities and colleges in a form that could be posted up in the Junior Common Rooms and Unions, so as to be made accessible to every undergraduate in England. In this way, it might reasonably be hoped that a new atmosphere, or attitude of mind, would grow up in the universities—one involving interest in other countries and accurate information about them. Thus, the undergraduate class, which represents the most privileged and informed elements of the community, and a class upon whose shoulders a large measure of the responsibility and future administration of the country will probably fall will be a travelled class, with personal experience of other countries.

The university terms only last half a year. The long vacation presents an unrivalled opportunity for going abroad, and one which will not recur in later years. Travelling in foreign countries is at present very cheap for us on account of the exchange. I might say that it would have been possible for any member of our party to have done the trip we did, travelling expenses included, for under £20. A certain amount of foreign travel, and a knowledge of other countries, would thus become a recognised part of a university man's equipment.

It is interesting to speculate on the different attitude towards foreign policy which would be adopted if the majority of the members of the House of Commons and House of Lords had travelled abroad in this way, and had had personal knowledge of the points discussed.

A word, finally, about the subscription of money. Every person giving money to the European Student Relief can rest assured that every penny of it will be put to the most effective use. The European Student Relief secretaries are nearly always in a position to buy wholesale in countries of low exchange far more cheaply than a visitor might expect from the prices which he sees charged in shops, and which have been quoted in this pamphlet.

The existence of such a thing as international morality may be questioned. The central powers were supposed not to believe in it during the war, and they certainly have not been convinced of its operation by their subsequent treatment in the peace. But the existence of this force often shows itself far more clearly in the behaviour of individuals than in the policy of States. A large number of us feel a sense of helpless incapacity to do anything for the terrible conditions engendered by the war and the peace.

These are so far-reaching, and of such magnitude, that no effort of the individual can seem of the slightest avail. But let every undergraduate and schoolboy in England realise that it is open to him to take a small part in lending a helping hand to an enemy which has been humiliated, crushed and ruined. And let him remember that one of the best ways he can do it is to contribute what he can to the European Student Relief.

The following is a provisional list of the most important European Student Relief Headquarters on the Continent. Anyone wishing to visit any of the towns quoted, can secure accommodation through, and general information from, the Secretaries, whose names and addresses follow :—

	Name.	*Address.*
Austria ...	DONALD GRANT ...	Rektoratskanzlei, Universität, Vienna 1.
Czecho-Slovakia ...	HUNTLEY DUPRÉ ...	Studentsky Domov, na Slupi, Prague 11.
Germany ...	A. W. BONSEY ...	Tieckstrasse 17, Berlin.
Hungary ...	RAY H. LEGATE ...	8 Museum Korut 6, Budapest.
Poland ...	O. PEDERSEN ...	Ul. Kopernika 41, Warsaw.
Greece ...	D. O. HIBBARD ...	44 Metropolitan St., Athens.

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